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SCENERY,
TRADE,
PRODUCTIONS,
NEGROES,

SLAVE TRADE,
DISEASES OF EUROPEANS,
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POSITIONS OF THE INHABI-
TANTS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ILLUSTRATION
OF THE ADVANTAGES, WHICH ARE LIKELY TO RESULT, FROM THE
ABOLITION OF
The Slave Trade.

By ROBERT RENNY, Esq.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. CAWTHORN, No. 5, CATHERINE STREET, STRAND,
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1807.

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
EARL OF BALCARRAS,
LATE
GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL
OF THE
ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

MY LORD,

NO name can, with so much propriety, be prefixed to AN HISTORY OF JAMAICA, as that of Your Lordship. Your long and successful administration of the affairs of this valuable colony, during a most critical period, has highly merited, and, in no common degree, excited, the gratitude, and respectful attachment, of the colonists of Jamaica. Your Lordship is regarded, not unjustly, as one of their greatest benefactors; and you are already classed by

them, among the D'Oyleys and Trelawneys, who, by their wise and patriotic administrations, were equally an honour, and an advantage, to the mother country, and the colony.

THAT Your Lordship may long live, to enjoy those best rewards of a virtuous public conduct, self-approbation, and universal respect, is the unbiassed wish of thousands, who have felt, and witnessed, the benefits of your memorable administration, and of none more, than of

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Most obedient,

And most devoted Servant,

ROBERT RENNY.

12th MARCH, 1807.

PREFACE.

EVERY man, whose mind is, in the smallest degree, elevated, above the sordid views of selfishness or avarice, feels himself interested in the history of the country, in which he resides. This curiosity is both natural and laudable : It prompts a man to investigations, equally amusing and instructive. He feels, and feels justly, a consciousness of superiority over those grovelling individuals, whose weakness or depravity lead them to neglect all those attainments, which elevate, enlarge, and purify the mind. He leaves them with pity, not unmixed with contempt, to their native state of degradation. There alone, they are at ease; there they are at home; and there, they must remain.

But an acquaintance with the history of one's own country, whether such by birth, or by choice, is productive of still more important advantages. It not only gives a man an interest in the scenes continu-

ally passing before him, increases his acquaintance with the inanimate objects constantly presented to his view, and endears to his remembrance the past events of his life, but by enlarging his mind, advancing his knowledge, and increasing his experience, it equally adds to his happiness, respectability, and usefulness. Employment of the mind makes a man happy; superiority of intellect, respectable; the proper direction of his knowledge, useful. But independent of these considerations, independent of the advantages to be derived, from an intimate acquaintance with the history of one's own country, such is, happily, the constitution of every well-regulated mind, that the curiosity with which it is instinctively endued, forms a sufficient stimulus to the acquirement of this most useful, most delightful, most respectable species of knowledge. Such being the case, it will not surely be denied, that every attempt, however feeble, to convey this necessary knowledge, and to gratify this laudable curiosity, is highly praise-worthy; and, if it should not excite our respect, demands, at least, our good-will, our approbation, or our gratitude.

Such, in some degree, are the situation and views of the Author of the following pages. Usefulness

has been his chief aim. He would far rather sacrifice to utility, than the Graces.

Having been taught by experience, during a visit to Jamaica, the want of a concise history of that valuable colony, he has now endeavoured shortly to relate the past affairs of the Island, and to present to the Public, and especially to those, who may be led by inclination or necessity to visit that country, a succinct account of its present state and condition. This task he has attempted, not with any vain expectation of throwing new light on the subject, or of making any important discoveries, or profound observations; but from a desire to place in a connected view the events and situation of this flourishing colony, and to relate them in such a concise and perspicuous manner, as to gratify, if possible, the curiosity of every reader. And this becomes the more necessary, when we consider, that the voluminous, ill-digested, and unconnected, though otherwise valuable, histories of Brown, Long, and Edwards, are written in such a manner, as to gratify few readers, and bear such a price, as to exclude many purchasers. These considerations have led to a publication of the following pages; and whatever the defects contained in them may be, if they tend to excite the liberal in-

quiries of those individuals, who visit the Island of Jamaica; if they lead to a pursuit of those objects, which elevate the mind, and humanize the temper; if they convey that information, which strengthens the understandings, and increases the usefulness of individuals; and if, from that conciseness which has been anxiously studied, the knowledge contained in them shall be more easily attained, and more extensively circulated, the Author's labour and expectations shall not have been in vain.

“ *An account of Jamaica,*” would have perhaps been a title more accurately expressive of the contents and pretensions of the present volume, than that which has been adopted. The affairs of a colony being always subject to the influence of a distant and superior power, seldom furnish, comparatively speaking, those interesting events, which arise from the avarice, ambition, patriotism, or folly, of individuals, and which, being productive of changes affecting posterity, it is the delight and the business of the historian, to investigate and explain. But a dependant island is only a satellite, doomed to follow the fortune of its superior planet. A relation of the transactions of a colony, therefore, is seldom interesting, and can rarely excite those feelings of anxi-

ety, sympathy, or enthusiasm, which the history of an independant state never fails to call forth. The word *History* indeed seems more properly applied to the narration of those events, which change the government of a country, or the mutual relations of independant states, than to the less important, and consequently, less interesting, events, which may happen in a colony: And, in truth, the title which has been prefixed to the following pages, has been adopted, rather from a compliance with custom, than from any conviction of its applicability, or sense of its propriety.

Perhaps an observation will be deemed requisite, respecting the non-quotation of authorities, for the various historical facts, related in the present volume. For this conduct, the conciseness requisite in a short history, will probably account in a satisfactory manner. But, it may be further remarked, that as historians are not bound, either by the laws of propriety or custom, to produce their authorities for every fact related by them, they are always at liberty to quote authors in the manner they deem most eligible, and for the facts which they esteem the most important or unaccountable. It must be evident, therefore, to every man, that an author may

easily laden his pages with quotations and authorities, neither useful nor entertaining, and produce a host of venerable names, more for the purpose of ostentation, than with a view of utility. Indeed, quotations seem chiefly requisite in a narration of those events, respecting which, the opinions and reasonings of men are widely different; as, in situations of this kind, from that self-love inseparable from human nature, men are generally inclined to exaggerate, frequently to falsify. As the Author is not conscious, however, of any fact of importance contained in the following pages, which can possibly admit of either doubt, or disputation, he has not thought it necessary to trouble the reader with references, equally useless and uninteresting. But he begs leave to state, that this conduct has not proceeded from any deficiency of information, from indolence, or from any want of anxiety, to render his performance as complete, and as valuable as possible. He has neglected no means of information, which could be afforded by books, his own observation in the island, or the reflection and experience of others. Indeed he knows no work on the subject, which he has not carefully consulted. Among others, he has chiefly been indebted to the following writers, whom it would be selfish, or ungrateful, not to mention with

respect: Peter Martyr, Sir Hans Sloane, Brown, Long, Edwards, Beckford, and Dallas. Mr. Edwards, from his long residence, and advantageous situation in the island, as well as from his patient spirit of investigation, is by far the best informed, and most accurate, of all writers on the affairs of Jamaica. Yet, his style is so verbose, his sentiments are so trite, his arrangement so confused, that his reader is far more frequently tired, than entertained, and bewildered, than instructed: But he is still valuable, and highly deserving of respect; and it would have been improper, indeed, almost impossible to have written on the present subject, without being much, and frequently, indebted to his useful, and ingenious, labours.— These observations will perhaps be deemed sufficient, to exculpate the Author from any charge of rashness or presumption, in following that conduct, which appeared to him, the most useful and expedient.

The chapter which treats of the diseases to which Europeans are generally subject in the West Indies, and especially in Jamaica, will, it is to be hoped, prove useful to those, who, for the first time, visit the tropical regions of the Western World; particularly, as the directions which it contains, are not only reasonable in themselves, and consonant to the Author's

own observation, but as they coincide with the experience of several eminent and excellent medical practitioners from that country, to whose literary labours, and personally communicated information, he feels himself much, and pleasingly, indebted.

The other supplementary Chapters, containing observations on the climate, soil, and productions of the island, and on the dispositions, employments, manners and customs of the Negroes and Europeans, if they contain little original or entertaining, have at least the merit of being short, while the facts related in them are indisputable, and are properly arranged. . . Indeed, it would perhaps be an improvement, if travellers, instead of relating a few meagre, hacknied, or uninteresting anecdotes, which is an occupation best fitted for, and most congenial to, superficial thinkers, would employ their time, in illustrating the history of the countries which they visit; and, by studying the condition and manners of the inhabitants, they might be, in some measure, enabled, to propose plans for the melioration of their condition, and the advancement of their happiness. But this remark proceeds rather from a wish to defend the method, which has, in the following pages, been attempted, than from any desire to affect superior wisdom, or to dictate to others.

These observations have been deemed requisite, both to defend the plan of the Author, and the manner in which it has been executed. This defence is also, perhaps, the more necessary, as it proceeds from one, who now makes his first appearance, *in propria persona*, on the theatre of the literary world. A first attempt, in any department of life, especially by a young person, has always been treated, by every liberal mind, with a certain degree of indulgence. But whatever treatment he may receive from professed Critics, those formidable but necessary *Cerberi* of modern literature, the terror and delight of modern authors, he trusts, that he has philosophy enough, to prevent him, from being either unduly elated, or depressed. If they approve, he shall be gratified; if they point out his mistakes; he will endeavour to rectify them. If they display any hostility to his undertaking, he will not forget the good old maxim, *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*: And should they treat with contempt, his literary talents and labours, he hopes it will not be deemed presumptuous in him, to express a modest confidence, and to exclaim, in the language of an eminent master, *Ed Io anche son pittore!* And he surely may be allowed to expect, that he will not be blamed, for not having executed, what he has not attempted;

that he will not be judged by the standard, which would have been employed, to estimate the productions of a Hume, a Robertson, or a Gibbon; that he will not be ridiculed, for not having produced a voluminous work, capable of conveying his name, with respect, to posterity. Would it not be unreasonable, to laugh at the architect of an humble cottage, because he had not reared a costly, or a splendid palace?

But, after all, it is to the opinion of the Public alone, that the Author, in common with all others, ought to pay a respectful deference: And to the decision of this impartial and enlightened tribunal, whatever it may be, he will silently, and unreluctantly submit.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.—DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD BY COLUMBUS.

CHAPTER I.

Discovery of the New World, an important Event.—Impossibility of determining at present, whether it will ultimately be beneficial to Mankind.—Narrow Knowledge of the Ancients.—Sudden and great Exertions of Europeans.—Consequences of the Discoveries of Columbus.—His great and unsuccessful Efforts.—Causes of their Failure.—Unsettled State of Europe.—Ultimate Success of Columbus.—Advantages derived from it by the Spaniards. - - - Page 1

CHAPTER II.

Discovery of Jamaica.—Original Inhabitants.—Their Religion, Manners, Arts, Dress, and State of Civilization.—Their Mildness, Benevolence, and Happiness.—Second Visit of Columbus.—His precarious Situation.—Complete Possession of the Island taken by the Spaniards.—Their horrid Massacre of the innocent and helpless Natives.—Invasion of the Island by the English Troops under Sir A. Shirley.—Subsequent Invasion by Colonel Jackson. - - - Page 6

CHAPTER III.

Cromwell's Declaration of War against Spain.—Invasion of St. Domingo by Penn and Venables.—Their Defeat, and consequent Descent upon Jamaica.—Conquest of it. - - - Page 15

CHAPTER IV.

Flourishing State of the Island.—Buccaniers.—Destruction of the Privileges of the Inhabitants attempted.—Their successful Opposition.—Partial Revolt of the Slaves. - - - Page 22

C

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER V.

Dreadful Earthquake, and Overthrow of Port Royal.—Invasion of the French from St. Domingo, under the Command of M. Du Casse.—Arrival of the Scots Settlers from Darien.—Destructive Hurricane. - - - Page 41

CHAPTER VI.

Incursions of the Maroon Negroes.—Cudjoe appointed their Leader.—Joined by the Cottawoods and Madagascars.—Peace concluded with Cudjoe. - Page 52

CHAPTER VII.

Governor Knowles's Attempt to remove the Seat of Government from Spanish-town to Kingston.—Rebellion of the Negroes in the Year 1760.—Great Droughts of the Year 1764, and from 1768 to 1770.—American War.—French Revolution.—State of St. Domingo.—Maroon War.—Execution of Sas Portas.—Conclusion. - - - Page 64

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Climate, Soil, Scenery, and natural Productions. - Page 82

CHAPTER II.

Topographical Description.—Towns, Villages, and Parishes.—Churches, Church-Livings, and Vestries.—Courts of Judicature.—Public Offices.—Government and Laws. - - - Page 101

CHAPTER III.

Trade.—Revenues.—Taxes.—Coins.—Militia. - - - Page 118

CHAPTER IV.

Commercial Productions, viz. Sugar, Rum, Melasses,—Coffee,—Cocoa,—Cotton,—Indigo,—Pimento,—Ginger. Their History, Description, Value, and Mode of Cultivation. - - - Page 128

CONTENTS.

xix

SECTION II.

COFFEE. Page 149

SECTION III.

COTTON. Page 145

SECTION IV.

INDIGO. Page 148

SECTION V.

COCOA. Page 152

SECTION VI.

GINGER. Page 154

SECTION VII.

ANISEED. Page 155

SECTION VIII.

PIMENTO. Page 157

CHAPTER V.

Origin of the Negro Race—Slavery in Africa—Commencement of the Slave-Trade—Consequences of it on the Morals of the Africans—Different Dispositions of various Nations of Africa, discoverable in the Conduct and Temper of the Slaves—Passions of the Negroes—Consequences of Slavery with Respect to their Dispositions—Their Benevolence—Filial Affection—Loquacity—Love of Pleasure—Various Amusements—Religious Sentiments—Superstitions—Obeah—Natural Genius and Comprehension.—Slave-Trade of England—How carried on—Slave-Ships—Situation of the Negroes at Sea—Manner of Sale at Jamaica—Treatment of the Slaves on Estates—Their Work—Food—Cloathing—Houses.—Arguments for the Slave-Trade considered—Injustice of it—Inhumanity—Impolicy—Immediate Abolition of it considered—Equally just and desirable—Consequences of it.—Employment of poor but industrious Emigrants from Scotland and Ireland proposed—Great Advantages likely to result from it.—Melioration of the Condition of the Slaves recommended—Giving them Education—A stated Quantity of Labour—Making their Evidence legal in a Court of Justice—Suffering them to acquire Property—Attention to their Morals—Discouragement of Polygamy.—Beneficial Effects of these Measures. Page 160

CHAPTER VI.

People of Colour, and Free Negroes. - - - Page 188

CHAPTER VII.

Diseases of European Settlers.—Great Necessity of Sobriety.—Best Season for leaving Europe.—Precautions necessary during the Voyage.—Dress.—General Directions.—Fever.—Symptoms.—Method of Cure.—Dry belly-ache.—Inflammation of the Liver.—Dysentery.—Diseases of the Negroes.—The Yaws.—Leprosy.—Jaw-fall.—Dirt-eating. - - - Page 192

CHAPTER VIII.

Customs and Manners of the Jamaicans.—Causes of a peculiar Cast of Character.—Their high Spirit of Independence.—Dispositions of the Creols.—Amiable Conduct of their Ladies.—Dress of the European Settlers.—Contempt of outward Show.—Kindness to their Slaves.—General Intelligence.—Low State of Literature.—State of the Mechanic and Labourer.—General Activity in Business.—

Amusements.—Hospitality.—Attention to Religion. - - - Page 209



AN

HISTORY OF JAMAICA,

Ec. Ec.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.—DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD BY
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CHAPTER I.

Discovery of the New World, an important Event.—Impossibility of determining at present, whether it will ultimately be beneficial to Mankind.—Narrow Knowledge of the Ancients.—Sudden and great Exertions of Europeans.—Consequences of the Discoveries of Columbus.—His great and unsuccessful Efforts.—Causes of their Failure.—Unsettled State of Europe.—Ultimate Success of Columbus.—Advantages derived from it by the Spaniards.

THE discovery of America forms a grand epoch in the history of the world. No event, hitherto recorded, has been productive of consequences, so important in their nature, and extensive in their influence. Its effects have not been confined to one nation only, or even to one hemisphere; but important changes on all the civilized world have been produced, while the condition of untutored men, in every discovered portion of the globe, has been materially affected. Yet the present consequences of this.

B.

most extraordinary event, though already important, and sufficient to excite the astonishment, and the investigation of every thinking mind, may be deemed, compared with those which will certainly succeed, the precursors only of important changes in the earth.

Whether this discovery has increased the happiness of the human race, is a question, which, from our limited experience, it would be improper to decide. Every event which influences the conduct and the condition of multitudes, must be productive of various effects, according to the power, situation, and intention of the agents. Good often springs from apparent evil; and, such is the imperfection of our knowledge, that the conduct which is contrary to justice, and which seems to us to be productive only of misery to mankind, tends frequently to advance the general happiness, and to promote the true interests of society.

Previous to this era, the human mind, even in the most enlightened ages, remained comparatively dark; the extent, form, and motion of the earth, and the laws by which the heavenly bodies are regulated, were unknown; intercourse between neighbouring nations was difficult and dangerous, and betwixt those which were distant from each other, almost impracticable; human nature was little studied; the principles of justice were scarcely thought of; knowledge was consequently very partially diffused; and the great mass of mankind were buried in the most lamentable and debasing ignorance.

But man now awoke as from a dream. The faculties of his mind seemed to be refreshed by the long torpor in which they had been sunk. The fables of antiquity appeared to be realized; and the search after the philosopher's stone was no longer deemed ridiculous, or its discovery impossible. Several maritime nations of Europe were seized with an ardent love of

adventure. Nothing seemed to them improper to be attempted, or impossible to be accomplished. Almost ignorant of the most important principles of navigation, they ventured on an unknown sea, in search of distant lands, as yet undiscovered, with a resolution, which, had it happened in the dark ages of antiquity, would have been celebrated by the greatest of poets, and handed down to posterity, as the most astonishing exertion of human genius and industry. Yet though disappointment often succeeded to their too sanguine hopes, they were seldom altogether unsuccessful. They acquired the riches which were the object of their search; they beheld a new race of men; saw nature in a different form, and society in a new state: Their minds, by comparison and reflection, were improved; their industry was awakened; their exertions were extended; their cupidity was gratified.

Man, naturally ambitious, has now a wider field for exertion. His mind capacious, and delighting in the vast, views with rapture the various properties of a distant world; and sympathizing with his fellow-men, wherever scattered, and however different in language, manners, and mental acquirements, he is powerfully affected by their happiness and misery. The state of the new world has furnished him with abundant means of investigation, and its various productions have excited and gratified his curiosity. The boundaries of science have been enlarged; commerce has been extended; wealth, with unexampled profusion and rapidity has been poured into Europe, has enriched millions who would otherwise have remained sunk in poverty and wretchedness, whilst luxuries have been placed within the reach of the lowest classes of society; new empires have been founded, and flourish even in their infancy; and fertile regions, unpeopled and uncultivated, have afforded an asylum to the persecuted, and a refuge to the oppressed.

Christopher Columbus, perhaps the most extraordinary genius which the world ever produced, conceived and executed the design of discovering a new hemisphere. He was, by birth, a Genoese; and from that natural love of one's own country, which is always strongly felt by an ingenuous mind, imparted to the chiefs of the republic his bold design, and his important expectations. They, unable to perceive the solidity of his views, or from that jealousy which is ever felt by little minds at the conception of extensive schemes, or, perhaps, from that contempt which men generally entertain for the opinions of those whom they have never been accustomed to look up to with veneration, disregarded his representations, and discouraged his hopes. But Columbus, though disappointed, was not easily depressed: Obstacles tended only to increase his ardour. He now made application to several other maritime nations of Europe, and, with that confidence which great minds, when sincere, usually entertain, proposed his schemes, and explained his expectations. There he met with a reception, which would have discouraged any ordinary mind: By some he was contemned; by others neglected; at one time, he was treated as a visionary enthusiast; at another, he was looked on as a worthless or a dangerous character.

Europe was, at this period, in a very unsettled state. The Gothic darkness with which this quarter of the world had long been overspread, was only beginning to disperse. The governments which it contained were disinclined, and, indeed, were unable, to encourage the schemes of any adventurer, and especially of one, whose designs were so vast and unheard of, as those of Columbus. The republics of Venice and Genoa, though possessed of a lucrative trade, seemed incapable of extending their narrow views beyond the pillars of Hercules. The republic of the Hanse towns, which the barbarism of a rude age

could have alone rendered necessary, was already in its decay. France, torn by internal dissensions, was equally ignorant and careless of the advantages of commerce. Henry the Seventh of England was too cautious, and too much engaged in securing his power, and in curbing the spirits of a restless nobility, to engage in any uncertain schemes. John of Portugal, though himself adventurous, not only disregarded the merit of Columbus, but meanly and treacherously endeavoured to rob him of those advantages and that glory, to which he was so highly entitled. Holland, enshackled, was unable to avail herself of her natural advantages by any useful exertion. Spain was therefore, though engaged at this time in a war with the Moors, the only kingdom in which Columbus could hope for success; and here, after many obstacles and tedious delays, his uncommon perseverance was rewarded. He was at length enabled to equip three small ships, and after surmounting obstacles which nothing but the most determined courage and the highest prudence could have accomplished, but which it is not here our business to record, he arrived at the world which he was destined to discover.

The wealth, the power, the glory, which Spain acquired by this stupendous event, roused the attention, excited the envy, and redoubled the ardour of the other nations of Europe. But Spain had been nearly a century in possession of the most valuable portions of the new world, before any competitor appeared; and, to this hour, possesses the most extensive and the most valuable portions of South America. Holland, France, and England, having at length established a few settlements in the islands of the western Archipelago, have produced important changes in the state of transatlantic politics. Several of these events, not less curious than important, it will now be our business to record.

CHAPTER II.

Discovery of Jamaica.—Original Inhabitants.—Their Religion, Manners, Arts, Dress, and State of Civilization.—Their Mildness, Benevolence, and Happiness.—Second Visit of Columbus.—His precarious Situation.—Complete Possession of the Island taken by the Spaniards.—Their horrid Massacre of the innocent and helpless Natives.—Invasion of the Island by the English Troops under Sir A. Shirley.—Subsequent Invasion by Colonel Jackson.

JAMAICA* was discovered by Christopher Columbus, in the year 1494, from the birth of Christ. It is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, among what are called by Geographers, the Greater Antilles, in $18^{\circ} 12'$ of north latitude, and $76^{\circ} 45'$ west from London. It is nearly of an oval form, is 140 English miles in length, and where broadest, about 50 in breadth. It is bounded by the island of St. Domingo on the east, by Cuba on the north, by the bay of Honduras on the west, and by Carthagera in New Spain, on the south.

This island, when first visited by Columbus, was peopled by a numerous race of men, remarkable for simplicity of manners, mildness of temper, and docility of behaviour. On his arrival, the timorous natives fled to the mountains, supposing, as they afterwards informed him, that the ships contained Charaibs, a race of Cannibals, at that time inhabiting some of the Windward Islands. But the prudent behaviour of Columbus gained their confidence; and the unsuspecting natives, regarding with

*The island was called by the Indians, *Xaymaca*, which signified, in their language, a land abounding with springs.

astonishment the dress, white skins, and offensive weapons of the Spaniards, treated them as if they had been a superior race of beings, kissing their hands and feet, and cheerfully giving them all that they possessed. Their new guests, after receiving all the gold which they could procure, and making anxious enquiries where it was to be found in greater plenty, took leave of these hospitable natives, and sailed again in quest of their favourite metal.

The natives, though simple in their manners, were not in a state of barbarism. Their government was monarchical and hereditary; and their chief, or Cacique, was obeyed implicitly, and treated with reverence. Their religion, though superstitious, was not bloody. They believed in a future state, and supposed that the spirits of the just were conveyed to a pleasant valley, called Coyaba; a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with guavas and other delicious fruits, cool shades and murmuring rivulets; a country, where thirst never raged, and the hurricane was unknown. Here too they believed, that they should enjoy the company of their friends and forefathers. In celebration of the deeds of their heroes they composed hymns, which were recited at public festivals, called *Arietoes*, accompanied with dances, musical instruments made of shells, and a kind of drum, the sound of which was heard at an immense distance. Expressions of national triumph for victory, lamentation in times of public calamity, the voice of festivity, and the language of love, were also the subjects of these exhibitions, whilst the dances were grave or gay, as their feelings dictated, and the subject required.

They had no beard; and their colour was a clear brown, not darker, according to Columbus, than that of a Spanish peasant, who has been much exposed to the influence of the sun. Their clothing consisted solely of a piece of cotton cloth wrapped

round the waist; but in the women, this covering extended to the knees, whilst the children of both sexes went completely naked. Their hair was uniformly black, without any tendency to curl; their features were hard, the nose being thin and flat, and the face broad; but their eyes streamed with good-nature, and there was an indescribable something in their countenances, which invited confidence, and proclaimed a frank and gentle disposition*.

Their progress in the arts and in agriculture was considerable. Notwithstanding the spontaneous growth of the most delicious fruits, of plantains, yams, and other vegetables, they cultivated maize to a considerable extent, and displayed great skill in their preparations of cassavi-bread from the manioc. They not only manufactured excellent cloth from their cotton, but they also possessed the art of dyeing it with a variety of colours, some of them of the utmost brilliancy and beauty. Their domestic utensils were various and beautiful. The elegance of their earthen ware, their chairs of ebony, and their curiously woven beds; their implements of husbandry; the size, structure, and ornaments of their canoes, some of them navigated by forty oars, and covered with an awning, composed of mats and palm-tree leaves, in order to secure their women and children from the spray of the sea, all evince, that far from being in a state of nature, they possessed in abundance, not only the necessities, but even the comforts and elegancies of life. Indeed, considering their want of tame quadrupeds, their ignorance of commerce, and of the use of the metals, they seem to have arrived at a surprising degree of refinement, and were unquestionably, the gentlest, the most benevolent, and the happiest of mortals.

Such was the state of these ill-fated islanders, when Columbus,

* Peter Martyr informs us, That the natives of Jamaica were far more lively, acute, and ingenious, than any whom the Spaniards had met with in the other islands.

after an absence of nine years, again visited them. Whilst returning from the continent of New Spain to St. Domingo, in the month of June, 1503, he encountered a dreadful storm, in which he lost two of his ships, and was compelled to bear away, in the utmost distress, for Jamaica. He gained, with great difficulty, a small harbour on the north side of the island, called to this day, Don Christopher's Cove; and here, to prevent their foundering, he was necessitated to run his two remaining vessels on shore. He, and his crews, were received by the natives in the most generous manner, were soothed by the most humane attentions, and were supplied with all the necessaries of life. But as the natives were destitute of commerce, they had not been accustomed to cultivate a greater quantity of provisions, than what they themselves required. The Spaniards, incapable of controul, and ferocious in their dispositions, mutinied against their commander, and committed the most atrocious and ungrateful enormities upon their generous benefactors. These, at length, roused the indignation of the natives, who retired to the mountains, threatening the destruction of the Spaniards. This would, in all probability, have been the case, had not Columbus, who, from his knowledge of astronomy, foresaw an eclipse of the moon, convened all the Caciques in the neighbourhood, that he might inform them of something which was of importance to their happiness, and essential to their preservation. These good creatures attended him; and he, after complaining of their leaving him and his companions to perish by famine, addressed them in the following words, which he pronounced with a peculiar emphasis, as if he had been inspired:---“ To punish you for
 “ your cruel conduct, the Great Spirit, whom I adore, is going
 “ to visit you with his most terrible judgments. This very
 “ evening you will observe the moon turn red; after which,

"she will grow dark, and withhold her light from you. This
 "will only be a prelude to your calamities, if you obstinately
 "persist in refusing to give us food." He had scarcely finished
 this speech, when his prophecy was accomplished. The natives
 were astonished; and being easily induced to deeds of benevolence,
 they, upon a promise of better behaviour by Columbus in behalf
 of his turbulent followers, and assurances of a speedy departure,
 promised to supply them with whatever they required. He then
 told them, that heaven, moved with their repentance, was
 appeased, and that nature was now to resume her wonted course.—
 They afterwards conducted themselves with greater circumspection;
 and were, during the remainder of their stay, furnished with the
 necessary supplies of provisions. At length, after a residence of
 twelve months and four days in Jamaica, two ships arrived from
 St. Domingo, and relieved the natives from their troublesome
 guests.

In the year 1509, Don Diego, the son of Columbus, who was,
 at that time, governor of St. Domingo, sent Juan de Esquivel,
 with about seventy men, to take possession of the island. Esquivel
 conducted himself with prudence, and was not destitute of humanity:
 for he wished to reduce the Jamaicans to subjection, without
 driving them to despair; a conduct, which, however unjust in
 itself, deserves the highest praise, when compared with the
 remorseless cruelties of his countrymen. He founded the seat of
 government near to that spot where Columbus had resided in the
 year 1503, and gave the town the name of *Sevilla Nueva*. This
 town, which was founded on the scite of an ancient Indian village,
 near to the port of *Santa Gloria*, now called *St. Ann's Harbour*,
 soon became a place of considerable importance. But Esquivel,
 dying during his administration, the Spaniards, by their cruelties
 and oppressions, roused the resentment of the natives, who, accord-

ing to the traditions still prevalent in the island, suddenly and completely destroyed the inhabitants of the capital. This event is supposed to have given rise to the establishment of St. Jago de la Vega, now generally called Spanish-town, on the south side of the island. In what year the foundation of this capital was laid is uncertain, but it seems probable, that it took place in the year 1523. It was founded by Diego Columbus himself; but he soon afterwards retired to his native country, where he died in the year 1525.

It was at this period that a scene of cruelty was displayed, which is unparalleled in the history of even the most savage nations. Spanish historians, though necessitated to take notice of the barbarous murders committed on the innocent and helpless natives of St. Domingo, have, with all possible caution, drawn a veil over the transactions of Jamaica. But their caution concealed not the crimes of their countrymen; for we find, that, in the space of a few years, not one individual remained of that innocent, smiling, happy people, to complain of their fate, or to upbraid their oppressors. The number of the native Indians has been generally estimated at sixty thousand; but there is reason to believe, that they even exceeded one hundred thousand. This last statement becomes the most probable, when we consider their ignorance of warfare, their allowance of polygamy, their unacquaintance with hard labour, their innocence and gaiety, the amorousness of their dispositions, the fruitfulness of their soil, and the genial warmth of their climate. Bartholomew de las Casas, the only advocate for the cruelly oppressed Indians, who, while the Spaniards were a disgrace to the name that they bore, was an honour to human nature, expressly states, that the natives swarmed on the islands, *like ants on ant-hills*. Little did these generous sons of nature expect, that, while they held out the right hand

of charity to their visitors, their benevolence was to be their ruin. No: nothing but nature in a state of lamentable depravity could have even supposed, that such a return would be made to all their kindness. Yet the Spaniards were not long in commencing the work of death; the only pretence for which was, that their benefactors would not become their slaves; and would not patiently submit to toil, for which, by constitution and habit, they were unfit, and for which, they were not to receive the smallest reward.

The manner in which the remorseless Spaniards tortured their unoffending victims, was worthy of the goodness of such a cause. They seized upon them by violence, distributed them, like brutes, into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines, until death, their only refuge, put a period to their sufferings. It was also a frequent practice among them, as one of their own historians informs us, (human nature shudders at the tale,) to murder hundreds of these poor creatures, *merely to keep their hands in use*. They were eager in displaying an emulation, which of them could most dexterously strike off the head of a man at a blow, and wagers frequently depended on this horrid exercise: It is impossible for words to express the indignation and horror excited by such merciless cruelty. If any of these unhappy Indians, goaded by their sufferings, and driven to despair, attempted resistance or flight, their unfeeling murderers hunted them down with dogs, who were fed on their flesh. Weakness of age, and helplessness of sex, were equally disregarded by these monsters. And yet they had the impudence to suppose themselves religious, and the favourites of heaven! Some of the most zealous of these adorers of the Holy Virgin forced their unhappy captives into the water, and after administering to them the rites of baptism, cut their throats the next moment, to prevent their apostacy! Others

made and kept a vow to hang or burn thirteen every morning in honour of Christ and his twelve apostles!! But let us turn from this scene of human depravity; a scene the most remorseless and cruel ever displayed on the theatre of the world.

From causes already mentioned, but little is known respecting the state of Jamaica, until the final conquest of it by the English troops in the year 1655. However, this island having come into the possession of the house of Braganza, by a marriage with Isabella, Columbus's grand-daughter, the Portuguese formed a numerous and respectable body of the settlers. The Spaniards, who, in that age, seem, on all occasions, to have plentifully indulged themselves in the passion of hatred, detested these new comers, and regarded them as unwelcome intruders. Their minds were so narrow, that they were incapable of entertaining any enlarged views, and even disregarded the first principles of good policy. The mutual hatred and consequent dissensions of the Spaniards and Portuguese, were the chief causes of the success of Sir Anthony Shirley, who invaded this island in the year 1596. He met with little resistance, plundered the country, burnt St. Jago de la Vega, the capital, and was, while he staid, absolute master of the whole island. Had his orders permitted him, there is no doubt, but he could have retained possession of his conquest; but his royal mistress Elizabeth, with all her political sagacity, does not seem to have been aware of its importance. Sir Anthony was obliged to evacuate the island, and retired to the Spanish main, where he was ordered to cruise. The Spaniards being now sensible of the ill effects of their jealousy, contrived to live hereafter on better terms with the Portuguese. The governor now paid more attention to the interests, perhaps even to the harmless prejudices of these colonists, which produced a complete reconciliation. The good effects of this policy became conspicuous,

when Colonel Jackson, with a small fleet from the Windward Islands, made a descent upon Jamaica. He had only five hundred men; but he knew that they were brave, and he expected to find the Spaniards unprepared. However, they had received intelligence of his intention, and marched two thousand men to Passage-fort, where they awaited his approach. But superior as they were in numbers, they were unable to withstand the spirited attack of this little band; and after losing some hundreds of men in the engagement, they fled in the utmost disorder. Colonel Jackson, improving his advantage, immediately marched to the capital, which was only six miles distant from the field of battle, bravely stormed it, entered sword in hand, and stripped it of every thing valuable. The Spaniards paid him a ransom to save the town from being burnt; after which, he retreated with his booty, unmolested, having lost only forty men in the expedition. These attacks were only the preludes to a more important invasion, which snatched the island for ever from the hands of its unworthy possessors.

CHAPTER III.

Cromwell's Declaration of War against Spain.—Invasion of St. Domingo by Penn and Venables.—Their Defeat, and consequent Conquest of it.—Descent upon Jamaica.

IN the year 1655, Oliver Cromwell, who, under the title of Lord Protector, had usurped the English throne, declared war against Spain. This conduct is generally condemned by the English historians, as equally contrary to the rules of justice, and good policy. But men, as in this case, frequently disapprove of the conduct of those whom they dislike, without sufficient, or at least, without an impartial investigation; for, upon a fair consideration of the conduct of the usurper in this instance, it is impossible not to approve of the justice of his cause, or not to respect the solidity of his views. Spain, entertaining the most extravagant notions of the extent of her dominion, treated as pirates, all those who navigated the seas of the new world. She had, in consequence of these principles, been guilty of the most treacherous and atrocious cruelties, unfeelingly inflicted upon the crews of various English vessels. Satisfaction had been boldly demanded by Cromwell; but the Spanish ambassador, instead of granting it, increased the injury, by justifying the conduct which had been pursued. No other method, therefore, of defending the honour of the English flag, and of avenging these unmerited injuries, was now left, but by an appeal to arms. But whether Cromwell's commencement of hostilities was just, or not, there cannot

remain a doubt respecting the good policy of it. Spain was possessed of rich and extensive dominions in both the old and the new world. The absurdity of her religion, the bigotted notions and narrow views of her rulers, the luxury of her people, in consequence of the wealth which they had suddenly acquired, and the languor which their indulgence in luxury had produced, convinced every careful observer, that the power of Spain was hastening to decay, and that her wealth and grandeur must be enjoyed by her more enterprising neighbours. Sagacity, far less than that of Cromwell, could easily have made this discovery. Spain was, at this period, engaged in a war with France: By siding with the former, Cromwell could have gained nothing; but by assisting the latter, he would share the rich booty which was likely to be acquired. With this view, he turned his longing eyes to the rich dominions of the new world, and fitted out a large fleet, accompanied with a respectable body of veteran troops, with orders to attack the island of St. Domingo, at that time, denominated, Hispaniola.

This armament arrived at the place of its destination on the 13th day of April, 1655. Nine thousand men were landed at a place thirty miles distant from the capital of the island, and immediately began their march to attack it. Here they met with obstacles which it was difficult to surmount, and which their commanders, Penn and Venables, seem not to have foreseen. They had little provision and no water; their route lay through woods which were almost impassable, in a country to which they were strangers, in which they had no guides, and where the heat was almost insupportable. It is not surprising, therefore, that they were four days in reaching the capital, or that the Spaniards were prepared to receive them. The English troops, already dispirited, were by a

comparatively small number of Spaniards, attacked and dispersed; six hundred of them were killed, and the rest, with some difficulty, again reached the ships. The commanders, sensible of their danger, should they again return to England defeated and disgraced, determined to make an attempt on the neighbouring island of Jamaica. Here they arrived on the 3d day of May, and marched their troops instantly to St. Jago de la Vega, the capital of the island. To prevent the evil effects of cowardice or disaffection, some symptoms of the latter having appeared during the attack on St. Domingo, an order was now issued, commanding every soldier to shoot any individual who attempted flight*. This regulation was highly useful. The soldiers had been displeased with their original destination, and were dispirited with their late defeat. But finding a better prospect of success in Jamaica, their native courage began to revive. The Spaniards were completely unprepared to oppose them. They had not even heard of the defeat at St. Domingo. As soon, therefore, as the English troops arrived at St. Jago, the governor, seeing the impossibility of saving the capital, in case of an assault, desired terms of capitulation. This request being granted, the Spaniards removed every thing of value to the woods, while they spun out the negociation; and the better to lull the suspicion of their enemies, furnished the troops with fresh provisions. They afterwards retired, and left to the English, instead of a capital abounding in wealth, an empty town, destitute of inhabitants or goods.

This was a dreadful disappointment to soldiers, eager for plunder, and already baulked in their expectations. They threatened revenge on their perfidious enemies, and imme-

* See Note (a.)

diately set out in quest of them. But it was extremely difficult, owing to the thickness of the woods, and the mountainous nature of the country, to come up with, or to attack them. However, the perseverance and courage of the English troops, qualities for which they have been, in every age, conspicuous, surmounted every obstacle, and the Spaniards, after being driven from place to place, were obliged to leave their native land, for such it had become, and sailed in canoes to the neighbouring island of Cuba. They left behind them, in the woods, a number of mulattoes and slaves, with strict orders to harrass the English, promising them, at the same time, speedy and effectual aid.

Penn and Venables, returning to England in September, were by orders of the enraged protector, committed to prison for their flagrant misconduct, which, while it deeply tarnished the glory of the English arms, had it not been for their success in Jamaica, would in all probability have overwhelmed them with irremediable destruction. But Cromwell, who was no less capable of improving favourable events, than of forming bold schemes, soon saw the advantages of the possession of Jamaica. He fitted out a large squadron, and disliking Colonel D'Oyley, who, though a cavalier, being next in command to General Venables, had acted as governor of the island, he appointed Major Sedgwick governor in his stead.

The island was, at this period, in a very wretched condition. The soldiers had no pay, and had already consumed their whole stock of provisions. Anxious to return to their native land, they absolutely refused to plant Indian corn, pulse, cassavi, or other vegetables for their own support. So determined were they to leave the island, that they even rooted up the provisions which had been planted and left by the Spaniards. "Our soldiers," says Major Sedgwick in one of his dispatches,

"have destroyed all sorts of provisions and cattle. Nothing but ruin attends them wherever they go. Dig or plant, they neither will, nor can; but are determined rather to starve than work." It is not surprising, that a distressing scarcity was the consequence of this imprudent conduct; which, to fill up the measure of their calamities, was accompanied with disease and contagion. To such a state were they now reduced, that unripe fruits, noxious vegetables, snakes, lizards, and even vermin, were eagerly devoured. This unwholesome diet, concurring with other circumstances, produced an epidemic dysentery, which raged like a plague. For a considerable time, one hundred and forty men died weekly, while Sedgwick himself fell a victim to the prevailing contagion.

Cromwell, afraid that the Spaniards would embrace this opportunity of invading the island, determined to support the colony. He immediately sent out a large supply of provisions, and granting a commission of commander in chief to Colonel Brayne, commanded him to sail to Jamaica. Brayne arrived with a reinforcement of troops, and found every thing in disorder; but before he could possibly remedy these evils, he also died after a residence of ten months. The command again devolved on Colonel D'Oyley, who happily possessed those qualities of prudence, courage, and perseverance, which were absolutely requisite for the preservation of this valuable colony.

The defenceless state of the island, the dissatisfaction of the troops, the straits to which they were reduced by famine, disease, and death, led the governor of Cuba to believe, that a favourable opportunity was now offered for restoring Jamaica to the dominion of Spain. Having received the consent and the aid of the viceroy of Mexico, he landed on the 8th day of May 1658, thirty companies of Spanish infantry, at Rio Nuevo.

a small harbour on the north side of the island. Twelve days elapsed, before D'Oyley, who was only forty miles distant, was informed of their landing, and six weeks intervened, before he could reach them by sea. The Spaniards were now established in considerable force, and were plentifully provided with provisions, ordnance, and ammunition. But D'Oyley, as soon as he arrived at Rio Nuevo with seven hundred and fifty men, attacked them in their entrenchments, carried by assault a strong fortress which they had erected on an eminence over the harbour, and compelled the Spanish commander to leave the island, with the loss of one half of his troops, and all his stores, ordnance, ammunition, and colours*.

After this signal defeat, the Spaniards seem never to have entertained any hopes of recovering their lost dominion. A few of the ancient inhabitants, however, still remained dispersed in the woods; but their negroes, having, in considerable numbers, deserted to the English, became extremely useful, both as soldiers and as guides, and discovered the retreats of their old masters. Being sensible, that if ever the Spaniards again gained the ascendancy, they would be exposed to the most cruel tortures, they fought with the utmost courage and desperation, and in several partial encounters, destroyed numbers of their former proprietors†.

Cromwell, gratified with D'Oyley's success, now appointed him governor of the island, and from the great prudence of his administration, its affairs once more bore a favourable aspect. The inhabitants had engaged in the culture of Indian corn, cassavi, tobacco, and cocoa, and being successful in their first efforts, they were encouraged to renew and increase their exertions. The arrival of several merchant ships also stimulated their industry, while the army, well clothed, and plentifully

* See Note (b.)

† See Note (c.)

fed, was now become tolerably healthy. Favourable reports of the flourishing state of the new colony, having been, in the mean time, industriously circulated, numbers of discontented, as well as unfortunate individuals, repaired to Jamaica, as to a place of refuge from that vexation, injustice, and cruelty, which a revolution never fails to produce. By gradual accessions of industrious and intelligent settlers, the colony soon became respectable, and rapidly advanced to that height of prosperity, which it was afterwards destined to attain.

It is curious to observe the slow progress of the Spaniards in cultivating this colony. Their settlements were neither numerous, flourishing, nor valuable. They had murdered all the original inhabitants, amounting according to their own partial estimates to sixty thousand souls, and after a peaceable possession of one hundred and fifty years, there were only, including women and children, one thousand five hundred white inhabitants on the island. The negroes were not more numerous; and few in number as they were, it is difficult to discover, to what uses their labour was applied. Their principal exports, beside cocoa, consisted of hog's-lard, and hides. The sale of these commodities constituted the whole of their commerce. Of the valuable commodities which Jamaica is capable of producing, these slothful proprietors were either totally ignorant, or reared only what was sufficient for their own sustenance. Slothful, gloomy, unenterprising, poor, they passed their days in ignorance, wretchedness, and misery. Such are the effects of a false religion, and a despotic government!

CHAPTER IV.

Flourishing State of the Island.—Buccaniers.—Destruction of the Privileges of the Inhabitants attempted.—Their successful Opposition.—Partial Revolt of the Slaves.

JAMAICA had been four years in possession of the English, when Cromwell died. The people of England, who, however their sentiments might differ, all concurred in detesting his usurpation, of two evils wisely chusing the least, rejoiced in the return of the Stewart family. Charles was no sooner seated on the throne, than he turned his attention to Jamaica. The administration of Governor D'Oyley had been so prudent, and so moderate, that he acquired the esteem of all parties, and the respect even of his enemies. Charles, not yet blinded by power, or corrupted by debauchery, secured his interests by an act of justice, and continued D'Oyley in the exercise of his power. Under the excellent administration of this man, the island was delivered from the horrors and the danger of invasion; the lands were cleared, and plantations settled; commerce commenced; the inhabitants increased in number, wealth, and civilization; and the colony, flourishing, and respectable, became a plentiful source of power and opulence to the mother country.

One of those curious phenomena which sometimes appear in the political world, now turned the attention of Europeans to the transactions of the West Indies. A number of daring and desperate adventurers, called Buccaniers, infested the islands

of the western Archipelago. They entertained no fixed views of justice or policy, while the most rooted hatred, not unmixed with contempt, of the Spaniards, raged in their bosoms. Their origin is little known, and not very easily accounted for. They were not natives of any particular nation, but seem to have belonged to all the maritime powers of Europe, especially to Portugal, France, and England. The spirit of adventure which the discoveries of Columbus had excited, was not yet extinguished. The dissensions and revolutions which had since that period, taken place in France, England, Portugal, and Holland, produced a number of ambitious and restless individuals, anxious to distinguish themselves, and eager for a change. The high pretensions of the Spaniards to the exclusive navigation of the seas of the new world, led them to look upon as pirates, and treat with cruelty, the crews of all the trading vessels, which they met with in these regions. This injustice excited the resentment of these individuals, who, associating together, and being joined by numbers from Europe, soon retaliated, in a dreadful manner, upon the Spaniards. Perhaps the wealth which the latter possessed was not the least powerful motive for their exertions. They were bold, hardy, and persevering. Their deeds of valour excite our astonishment, and we cannot but regret, that they were not performed in a better cause. Though they were the declared enemies of the Spaniards, and made them most generally the objects of their resentment, yet they sometimes attacked the vessels of other nations. If they acquired wealth, they were not very scrupulous about the means. Following an irregular course of life, they had no certain income; and money being necessary for the supply of their wants, they, in order to procure it, were easily stimulated to deeds of injustice, violence, and ferocity. Unacquainted with oeconomy, perhaps despising it, they spent with profusion, what they suddenly acquired.

As the Buccaneers were encouraged and countenanced in Jamaica, the town of Port Royal became their chief place of resort. In this place, they found a ready market for their booty, while they had an opportunity of indulging themselves in the most riotous profusion, and the most licentious luxury. Port Royal was, at this period, the most populous, the richest, and the most debauched spot in the world. They generally arrived laden with wealth, and seldom sailed again until it was wholly spent. They were caressed by the merchants and planters as men of valour, as friends, and as benefactors. Indeed, they, by their profusion, tended not a little to increase the wealth of the colonists. In taverns, and houses of debauchery, they, in the space of a few days, squandered away sums, which might have made them independent, and even rich, during life. "They used," (says an intelligent author), "to buy a pipe of wine, place it in the street, and oblige every one that passed, to drink; at other times, they would scatter it about in large quantities, thinking it excellent diversion to wet the ladies clothes as they went along, and force them to run from the showers of wine."

But though many of these adventurers were justly stigmatised as pirates, those who belonged to Jamaica deserved not the appellation. Spain and England being at war, they were regularly furnished with letters of marque and of reprisal. They were remarkably bold, and became objects of the utmost terror to the Spaniards. Desperate and persevering, they were generally successful; rude and uncultured, they were frequently cruel. And though no good man will approve of unnecessary deeds of violence, yet it is almost impossible for human nature not secretly to exult at the losses of the Spaniards, and to view their disasters, as part of the just retribution of Heaven, for the murder of ten millions of defenceless and unoffending Indians.

Henry Morgan was the most celebrated, and the most successful of all the Buccaneers. He was the son of a poor farmer in Wales; but his active and aspiring mind, disdaining the dull routine of an obscure life, he sailed, in his youth, to the island of Barbadoes. From hence, after a servitude of four years, he hastened to join the Buccaneers in Jamaica. In his first voyage, his courage became conspicuous, and gained him the respect and affection of his companions; and so superior did his talents appear, that, in a short time, Mansveldt, an old Buccaneer, who had a fleet of fifteen ships under his command, appointed Morgan his vice-admiral. They attacked Spanish ships of every description; no danger appalled, no superiority of numbers terrified them; whilst the Spaniards, finding their greatest efforts unavailing, became completely panic-struck, and seldom offered resistance. And when they could not meet with Spanish ships, they fearlessly landed on the territories belonging to Spain, ravaged the country, burnt the towns, plundered the inhabitants, and carried to Jamaica all the money, slaves, and valuable commodities, which they could procure. But Morgan, possessed of more enlarged views than his associates, instead of squandering away his property in riot and debauchery, husbanded his finances to such a degree, that he was soon enabled to purchase ships, and fit them for sea. Although booty was his chief object, as well as that of his companions, he did not confine himself to a partial system of petty warfare, but engaged in enterprises, which struck terror into the Spanish government, and which seemed to threaten the extinction of her dominion in the new world.

Finding himself possessed of twelve stout ships, and at the head of seven hundred resolute warriors, Morgan determined to attack the Havannah, in the island of Cuba, at that time, the richest town in the Spanish transatlantic dominions. But

prudential motives led him to prefer an attempt on *Puerto del Principe*, a fine inland town in the same island. He landed, for this purpose, in a bay, called, *El Puerto de Santa Maria*. His attacks were always made by surprise; but, on this occasion, a Spaniard, who had been detained a prisoner, finding means of escape, informed the inhabitants of the impending danger. The governor, or commandant of the place, immediately put the town in a posture of defence, armed both freemen and slaves, seized a pass through which the adventurers were expected to march, fixed great quantities of felled trees across the roads to obstruct their passage, placed several ambuscades in convenient places, and encamped with the rest of his forces on an extensive plain. Morgan was disappointed at finding the avenues impassable; but disdaining retreat, he immediately turned out of the common road, travelled through woods, and after great exertions, reached the spot where the Spaniards lay encamped. The Spanish commander immediately charged the assailants with great resolution; but the Buccaneers, well-disciplined, hardy, and desperate, were irresistible. After an engagement of four hours, in which the governor, and the greater part of the Spanish gentlemen were killed, the rest fled in every direction; while the people in the town still made a brave, though ineffectual, resistance. Morgan, having stormed it with success, and sent out parties for the purpose of plundering the surrounding country, collected an immense booty, with which, as usual, he repaired to Jamaica. His improvident companions were not slow in squandering their suddenly acquired wealth, and were soon ready and anxious to engage in some new enterprise.

Morgan now conducted them to the attack of Puerto Velo, or Porto Bello, a rich city on the Spanish main, situated fourteen leagues from the gulph of Darien, and defended by three

strong castles. Here after a long march, in a strange country, without guides, and destitute of artillery, they attempted an enterprise, which, by the greater number of prudent generals, would have been deemed an act of fool-hardy desperation. They summoned the garrison of the strongest fortress to surrender, and threatened them with severity in case of a refusal. The Spaniards bravely replied by a discharge of artillery, which destroyed a number of the assailants; but so cool was the courage of the latter, and so excellent their discipline, that they always shot numbers of the Spaniards as they approached to work their guns. After a brave defence, the castle was stormed, and all the Spaniards destroyed. They then coolly marched to the city, and notwithstanding an incessant discharge of artillery from another castle into which the governor had retired, commenced their favourite employment of plunder. But great numbers being destroyed by the governor's fire, they were necessitated again to commence the attack. Here also they were successful; and after dismounting and destroying the great guns of the castles, levelling several redoubts, and plundering the city, they retired with a booty of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in gold and silver, besides an immense quantity of several species of merchandise.

Their next attack was upon the town of Maracaibo, in which, after surmounting great hardships and danger, and destroying considerable numbers of the Spaniards, they acquired betwixt two and three hundred thousand dollars, besides an invaluable booty of jewels, merchandise, and slaves.

The name of Morgan was now mentioned with respect, not in Jamaica only, but even in England; and he was considered by the Spaniards as a formidable, and an irresistible enemy. Great as his enterprises had been, he now proposed to embark in a new adventure, surpassing all the former. No sooner had

he made known his designs, than immense numbers flocked to his standard, eagerly expecting that wealth and glory, which his prudence and courage never failed to procure. He now determined to attack Panama, one of the richest cities on the Spanish main, to which all the merchandise, gold, and silver of Chili and Peru are conveyed, and from which it was carried by the galleons to Europe.

Morgan set out on this expedition with twelve hundred men, on the 18th day of August 1670. The governor of Panama, however, aware of his approach, laid waste the country through which Morgan's troops were obliged to pass. They were consequently exposed to all the extremes of famine and fatigue, and for some days, had no other means of subsistence than the leaves of trees. They wandered in pathless woods, in danger of perishing for want of food; but Morgan at length reached a high mountain, from the summit of which he beheld the great South Sea. He now descended with his half-famished companions, into a rich valley, plentifully watered, and abounding in cattle. Having satisfied their hunger, Morgan ordered them instantly to march; and in a short time, they at length perceived the spires of Panama. Never doubting of success, the sight inspired them with a mad, tumultuous joy. They shouted, leaped, hallooed, tossed up their hats in the air, and gave all those signs of extreme satisfaction, which men, uncultured, generally display. All their trumpets sounded, and every drum was beat, as a symptom of their gladness, and a presage of their victory.

They immediately advanced to the city, and night approaching, pitched their camp in its neighbourhood, determining to commence their attack in the morning. A party of Spanish horse sallied out from the city, but displaying their cowardice, or their weakness, they did not venture within pistol-shot of

the assailants. Meanwhile, the great guns on the city ramparts played upon their camp; "but they," says an agreeable author, "who were used to such kinds of music, opened their satchels, and fell to supper, resolving next day to pay them in their own coin." Early in the morning, Morgan began his march on the great road which leads to the city; but being informed that several redoubts had been erected, and fearing an ambuscade, he cautiously turned aside, and approached by a more difficult path. This unexpected movement disconcerted the Spaniards, as, owing to the imperfect state of defence in which the city was placed, they were obliged to leave their batteries, and march out to meet the assailants on equal terms. However, they were still formidable, as the governor advanced at the head of two squadrons of horse, four regiments of foot, and a vast number of wild bulls, driven by Indians and Negroes.

Morgan was surprised at the sight of such a superior force; but he, as well as his followers, being convinced, that there remained for them no other alternative than death or victory, fearlessly advanced to the attack. The Spanish body of horse began the attack, but their shock was bravely sustained by two hundred of the Buccaneers, who, being excellent marksmen, destroyed great numbers, by an incessant fire from their muskets. The Spanish army now closed with the main body of Morgan's troops, and fought very courageously; but, inferior in discipline, as well as in spirit, they after a short, but bloody contest of two hours, fled in the utmost disorder. The Spanish governor, had attempted, during the heat of the engagement, to throw the adventurers into confusion, by driving the wild bulls upon their rear; but these animals, affrighted with the noise of the battle, ran in a contrary direction. Six hundred Spaniards fell in the engagement, and a great number were

made prisoners ; but the greater part of these, according to the barbarous custom of the Buccaniers, was destroyed. By means of these unfortunate wretches, Morgan became acquainted with the true state of the city ; was informed where trenches were cut and batteries reared, and where an attack could be made with the greatest success.

On receiving this information, Morgan instantly ordered his companions to the attack of the troops, still defending the city. Though one sixth part of his men had fallen in the engagement, the rest resolutely advanced to the walls. The Spaniards, knowing their fate in case of defeat, made a resolute resistance ; they had loaded their great guns with small pieces of iron and musket-bullets, and taking a cool aim, great numbers of the assailants fell at every discharge. But Morgan's troops, contemning death, and insensible to danger, still advanced, and constantly gained ground ; till the Spaniards, finding every effort in vain, were obliged to yield to the superior skill, courage, and perseverance of the assailants. They entered the city sword in hand, and made a dreadful slaughter of the inhabitants. After stripping the city of every thing valuable, they set fire to it, and, in a few hours, reduced it to ashes. The public buildings, rich, numerous and magnificent, and the houses, seven thousand in number, were all destroyed. They remained in this place nearly three months, indulging themselves in the enjoyment of every luxury, and after receiving considerable sums for the ransom of the richest of their prisoners, they prepared to return to Jamaica. At their departure, they carried off an immense booty, having one hundred and seventy-five mules laden with gold and silver, besides a great quantity of other valuable commodities.

Morgan, on his return from this expedition, retired from the hazardous profession of a Buccanier, became a respectable

planter in Jamaica, and was afterwards created lieutenant-governor of the island. The Buccaneers, after peace had been concluded betwixt England and Spain; were discountenanced by the English government, and being consequently obliged to disperse, never afterwards became formidable. They seem to have formed a kind of wandering, piratical republic; and indeed, privateering, in all countries, deserves no better appellation, than that of piracy. Their astonishing exertions are a proof, among many others, how much superior in energy men are, who fight, or believe that they fight for themselves, to those who are employed to fight for a master. Wealth, suddenly acquired, is seldom husbanded with prudence; and the profusion of the Buccaneers increased the riches, and stimulated the exertions of the planters and merchants of Jamaica.

Charles the Second confirmed D'Oyley in the office of governor by a commission, dated the 13th day of February 1661. Previous to this period, the colonists had been subjected to a military government, which is always inimical to commerce, and consequently, to industry and civilization. D'Oyley, now therefore, instituted a code of civil law, erected courts of justice, and appointed a council to be chosen by the inhabitants. This event was productive of incalculable advantages to the colonists; and from this period their rapid progress in prosperity may be dated. A new direction was given to the active and restless spirits of the conquerors, who had often fought the republican battles in England. They were encouraged to engage in planting; and the prospect of wealth and independance insensibly weaned them from their former pursuits. Great numbers of royalists had also settled in Jamaica; and they, after the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne of England, enjoyed exclusively all places of power and profit. But Governor D'Oyley, whom adversity had taught wisdom, never

displayed the smallest partiality to either party, but honourably distinguished himself on all public occasions, by endeavours to promote the true interests of the colony. He, at length, desired to be recalled, and Lord Windsor was appointed Governor in his stead.

All writers on the affairs of Jamaica, since the expulsion of the Spaniards, have concurred in applauding the conduct of Governor D'Oyley. He was prudent, temperate, active, war-like, impartial. Though a royalist, he made himself respected by the republicans, even when they were turbulent and triumphant; and when the royalists gained the ascendancy, he never behaved to the unfortunate with insulting haughtiness, or insidious injustice. He quelled a mutiny which happened in the infancy of his government, by the bold execution of Colonels Raymond and Tyson, two of the ring-leaders; he conquered, as we have already seen, the Spanish invaders, who were superior to him in numbers, and strongly entrenched; and his name appeared to them so formidable, that it prevented them from attempting an invasion which they threatened. To prevent the soldiers from mutiny, he divided them into several parties, and encouraged them in planting; for this purpose, he set them an excellent example, living, like themselves, on the produce of his plantation, keeping up no state, and exacting no taxes; he gave every possible encouragement to commerce, and to crown all his benefactions to this valuable island, he instituted a code of civil law, which has been the foundation of all its future prosperity. His memory is still regarded with veneration by all the colonists; and he was, undoubtedly, a benefactor to England, a blessing to Jamaica, and an honour to his country.

During Lord Windsor's administration, the colony rapidly advanced in improvement. He issued a royal proclamation,

by which all settlers were offered lands on such terms as were usual in other English islands, and even with additional advantages and privileges. All free persons were permitted to transport themselves, their families, and property, (coin and bullion only excepted), from any part of the British dominions to Jamaica; and, to use the words of the original proclamation, "Wee doe further publish and declare, that all children of our "naturall-borne subjects of England, to bee borne in Jamaica, "shall from their respective births, be reputed to bee, and "shall bee, free Denizens of England, and shall have the same "priviledges to all intents and purposes, as our free-borne "subjects of England," &c. These encouragements induced great numbers to flock to Jamaica, from all quarters of the British dominions, and some of the wealthiest and most intelligent of the planters of the island of Barbadoes, which was at that time in a very flourishing condition, repaired to Jamaica.

Among these, Thomas Moddiford chiefly distinguished himself. The cultivation of the sugar-cane, though prosecuted with great success by the planters of Barbadoes, was, at this period, very imperfectly understood in Jamaica. Moddiford had a large capital, with which he purchased immense tracts of land, and on which, when cleared, he raised extensive and valuable crops of sugar. He set the first example of cultivating to a considerable extent, and of rearing large crops of canes. At this period, also, the booty of the Buccaniers, which, as has been already mentioned, was chiefly spent at Port Royal, increased the wealth of every description of the colonists. Lord Windsor returning to England, appointed Sir Charles Littleton lieutenant-governor of the island, who acted in that capacity till the appointment of Thomas Moddiford to the administration of the affairs of Jamaica.

Sir Thomas Moddiford was created a baronet by King

Charles the Second, and was now appointed governor of the island. He well knew, and anxiously promoted, the true interests of the colony. During his administration, the island was, in consequence of a charter from the crown, divided into districts and parishes; an assembly, or house of representatives was appointed to be chosen by the people; courts of justice were fully established, and the civil government of the island was fixed on a solid foundation. The proceedings of the first house of assembly are now little known, as they were either chiefly confined to the establishment of some useful bye-laws, or were afterwards inserted in the body of statutes, afterwards compiled by a most respectable assembly, which met in the year 1682. Sir Thomas Moddiford continued in the government of Jamaica, to the great satisfaction of the colonists, till the year 1669, when he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Lynch, who was appointed lieutenant-governor.

Sir Thomas Lynch was a very active and intelligent governor, and paid unremitting attention to the interests of the island. Spain and England having, as already noticed, concluded a treaty of peace at Madrid in the year 1670, called The American treaty, King Charles engaged to discourage the Buccaniers, who were now stigmatized by the Spaniards, with the appellation of pirates. Sir Thomas Lynch, however, still gave them that encouragement, which was agreeable to the wishes of the inhabitants, and the interests of the colony*. The Spanish ambassador in London made strong and repeated complaints against this conduct, and Charles, listening to his remonstrances, appointed Lord Vaughan to the government of the island.

The new governor, upon his arrival, proclaimed his intention of strictly preserving the peace concluded between his master and the king of Spain; declared his firm resolution, to punish

* See Note (d.)

all the Buccaniers found in arms; recalled all the commissions which had been granted by his predecessors, and, by very severe penalties, prohibited every act of hostility. These measures were highly disagreeable to the inhabitants, and, concurring with other causes, rendered Lord Vaughan extremely unpopular.—In the year 1672, King Charles granted to the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Earl of Shaftsbury, and some others of the chief of his courtiers, a charter to trade, exclusively of all others, to Guinea, Angola, and other parts of Africa. The planters of Jamaica, who had formerly supplied themselves with slaves at a cheap rate, were now necessitated to purchase them of the African company, at an advanced, and, as they conceived, an extravagant price. The new company even took and condemned as lawful prizes, those ships, which the merchants of Jamaica had sent, as usual, to Africa. These hardships, combining with the diversion of that stream of wealth, which had flowed into Jamaica by means of the Buccaniers, rendered the people so discontented with the administration of Lord Vaughan, that it was thought advisable to recall him.

The Earl of Carlisle was appointed Governor of Jamaica in the year 1678. Charles the Second, who was at once the most popular, the most corrupt, and the most unprincipled of all the Stuarts, had, on the restoration of his family to the throne of England, displayed some regard to the privileges of the people. But as the selfish passions always increase with age, and especially after a life of debauchery, it is not surprising that Charles endeavoured to establish a despotic form of government. The assembling of parliaments had never been an agreeable measure to any of the Stuarts, and Charles was inclined and advised to govern without their aid. The administration of Jamaica being a link of this great chain of despo-

tism, was now completely altered. A new code of laws was now framed for the colonists, one of which settled a perpetual revenue upon the crown: and the house of assembly was peremptorily required by Lord Carlisle, to adopt the whole code without alteration or amendment. The heads of all bills (money-bills excepted) were, in future, to be suggested in the first instance by the governor and council, and transmitted to his majesty, to be approved of, or rejected; after which, they were, on obtaining the royal confirmation, to be returned under the great seal, in the shape of laws, and then passed by the assembly, which, unless in consequence of special orders from England, was to be convened for no other purpose, except that of voting the usual supplies.

Had the assembly tamely submitted to this infamous attempt on their liberties, they would have merited the chains which were forged for them, and would undoubtedly been exposed to the execration and contempt of posterity. But they indignantly rejected a scheme which would not have left even a shadow of deliberation. "No threats," says a learned author, "could frighten, no bribes could corrupt, nor arts nor arguments persuade them, to consent to laws that would enslave their posterity." Colonel Long, chief judge of the island, and a member of the council, distinguished himself highly in this honourable contest. He argued with great eloquence against a system, which was equally contrary to the interests and independance of the colonists; and his opposition to the measure was finally successful. Being, on account of his patriotic conduct, dismissed from all his offices, he was sent as a state-prisoner to England. But his misfortunes only advanced the interests of the cause for which he suffered. Having been heard before the king and privy-council, he pointed out with such force of argument, the evil tendency of the measures pursued, perhaps also, not without

hints of the danger attending them, that the English ministry, though with great reluctance, and a very bad grace, thought it prudent to submit. The Earl of Carlisle was recalled, the house of assembly had their powers restored, and Henry Morgan, now created a baronet, was appointed lieutenant-governor.

Morgan conducted himself with that firmness and prudence, which are usually displayed by those, who raise themselves by their merit from low situations. He, agreeably to his orders from the English court, discouraged and severely punished those pirates, who, treading in the steps of the Buccaniers, but not, like them, furnished with commissions, committed depredations on the commerce of the Spaniards. He administered the affairs of the colony till the year 1682, when Sir Thomas Lynch, who had formerly presided in the island as lieutenant-governor from the year 1670 to 1674, was, very much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, appointed governor.

Sir Thomas Lynch's administration was distinguished by the meeting of the house of assembly, which took place in the year 1682. This assembly, which was composed of the most illustrious characters in the island, compiled a body of statutes, which were admirably adapted to their particular situation. The desire of a separate revenue was still warmly indulged, and anxiously expressed by the English ministers; but to this, the assembly would on no account, and in no shape, submit. This refusal displeased several successive English administrations; and the sovereigns were, during fifty years, advised to withhold their assent from acts of the legislature, on which many important judicial decisions in the colony had been founded. On this precarious footing did the affairs of Jamaica remain, till the year 1728, when a compromise was made, by which an irrevocable and permanent annual revenue was

granted to the crown, and his majesty consented to confirm all the laws which had been, or should be, enacted by the legislature of Jamaica.

Sir Thomas Lynch having returned to England in the year 1684, Colonel Hender Molesworth was created governor. His administration was peaceful and moderate; and the island, at this time, with a rapid, though silent, progress, advanced in the career of civilization. The Jews, an industrious, persecuted, and unjustly degraded people, who, as a nation, are unreasonably stigmatized, *on account of the vices of some individuals*, were treated by Governor Molesworth with a laudable kindness, and a politic protection. They were, at this period, almost the only individuals in the western world, who possessed accurate views of commerce; and the rulers of the various nations of Europe were now become sensible of its advantages, and anxious for its success. The Jews in Jamaica were favoured with several privileges, which, by the selfishness and fanaticism of other countries were denied them; and what was, in these days, thought to be great condescension, they were allowed to erect synagogues, and to worship God according to the forms of their own religion. Their unremitting attention to business, their cautious bargains, and their sober manners, not only gave them a decided superiority over their competitors, but furnished them, at the same time, with useful lessons, and an instructive example.

During Governor Molesworth's administration, Charles the Second died. James Duke of York was proclaimed his successor at Spanish-town, and the assembly and council having met, an extremely loyal address was drawn up, and transmitted to the king, who received it very graciously. It contained expressions of the most ardent attachment to his person and family, and James, whose bigotted soul prevented him from

forming a true estimate of the sincerity of these professions, literally believed in them, and blindly trusting to their truth, was afterwards overwhelmed in ruin. In the year 1687, Christopher Duke of Albemarle, the son of General Monk, who had restored the Stuarts to the throne of their ancestors, was appointed governor, in the room of Colonel Molesworth. Few events, worthy of record, happened during his short administration. A post-office, from the great increase of commercial intercourse with England, was now become necessary, and instituted; and Sir Hans Sloane, the governor's physician, made at this period, that excellent collection of plants, which displayed his industry, did honour to his country, and extended the boundaries of natural history. The governor, soon after his arrival, displayed a striking instance of his arbitrary spirit. Having called an assembly, his grace dismissed them abruptly, because one of the members had, in the course of a debate, repeated the old adage, *Salus populi, suprema lex*, "The safety of the people is the supreme law." He afterwards caused the member to be taken into custody, and actually fined him in the sum of six hundred pounds. But if the principles of the governors of that age were arbitrary, the disposition of the people was at least equally servile. Of this fact, the following is a striking instance. The duchess having accompanied her husband to take possession of his government, the speaker of the house of assembly, in his first address, expatiated on this circumstance in the eloquence of the times. "This is an honour," he observed, "which the opulent kingdoms of Mexico and Peru could never arrive at, and even the ghost of Columbus, could he but know, that his own beloved soil was hallowed by such footsteps, would be appeased for all the indignities which he endured of the Spaniards."

The duke, after a short administration, fell a victim to the climate, and was succeeded by Colonel Molesworth. The memorable and happy revolution of the year 1688, now took place. William and Mary were here proclaimed with the same general satisfaction which displayed itself in every corner of the British dominions, and the liberties of the people were at length secured upon a lasting foundation.

In the year 1690, the Earl of Inchequin was appointed governor. During his administration, the descendants of those slaves who had belonged to the Spaniards, and who, at the time of the conquest, had retired to the mountains, excited considerable alarm in the planters who lived in their neighbourhood. The Negroes, too, who had been imported from Africa, now first displayed that discontent with their situation, which has often, since that time, excited the most serious apprehensions, and sometimes endangered even the existence of the colony. Their rebellion, however, being only partial, was almost wholly confined to one plantation; and after having murdered about twenty white inhabitants, they were defeated, and met with the punishment which their cruelties deserved. But a disaster of a more dreadful nature now attracted the observation of all.

CHAPTER V.

Dreadful Earthquake, and Overthrow of Port Royal.—Invasion of the French from St. Domingo, under the Command of M. Du Casse.—Arrival of the Scots Settlers from Darien.—Destructive Hurricane.

ONE of those extraordinary events which sometimes change the face of nature, and powerfully remind man of his state of uncertainty and dependance, now afflicted the people of this flourishing colony, and astonished the inhabitants of Europe. On the 7th day of June 1692, one of the most dreadful earthquakes ever felt in the new world, shook the island of Jamaica to its centre. Between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock of the forenoon, three distinct shocks, each more terrible than the preceding, agitated the earth. The sky, which was clear and serene, became suddenly red and obscure; a rumbling noise was heard under ground, spreading from the mountains to the plain; the separated soil choaked up the current of the rivers; hills at a distance from each other, were driven together with irresistible force, and a crash surpassing thunder; mountains divided, and falling into the vales, overwhelmed the inhabitants in unavoidable destruction; whole settlements sunk into the bowels of the earth, and were instantly covered with water; plantations were removed from their situation, the houses were overturned, and every sugar-work in the island was destroyed. But in the populous and flourishing city of Port Royal, the direful effects of this concussion of nature were most alarming and disastrous.

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All the wharves sunk at once, and in the space of two minutes, nine-tenths of the city were covered with water, which was raised to such a height, that it entered the uppermost rooms of the few houses which were left standing. The tops of the highest houses, were visible in the water, and surrounded by the masts of vessels, which had been sunk along with them. Two thousand persons in Port Royal alone were swallowed up; and there is no doubt, but that, throughout the island, considerably more than three thousand souls were destroyed on this awful occasion*.

The surviving inhabitants, deprived of friends, of shelter from the elements of heaven, of the comforts, and almost of the necessaries of life, were sunk in the deepest dejection. They reared tents and sheds into which they could crawl, in order to prolong a miserable existence; and thousands, who, the day before, had wallowed in wealth and luxury, were now necessitated to have recourse to the precarious bounty of others. Scanty, alas! is the fare which proceeds from occasional charity, and gloomy must be the prospects of those who subsist on it. Reflection on the past, anticipation of the future, exposure to the elements of heaven, insufficient cloathing, and an unhealthful diet, cast a gloom over the minds of these colonists, and prepared them for further disasters. A malignant fever succeeded, snatched thousands of unresisting victims to the grave, and before the ninth of October, the rich and flourishing island of Jamaica was considerably depopulated.

Innumerable are the disasters which this terrible visitation of providence occasioned. Two hills at the entrance of Sixteen-mile walk met together, and obstructed, for some time, the course of the river which flows through it. The river Cobre, which laves the sides of Spanish-town, the capital of

* See Note (c.)

the island, leaving its bed, exposed to view vast quantities of fish, and did not return, for a considerable time, to its former channel. Even the sea, at one time, receded several hundreds of yards from the shore, and returning with an awful and irresistible violence, overflowed the adjoining lands, and became literally covered with trees, which the earth had thrown up, or the winds blown away. It has been remarked, that the climate of this island is less genial, the air less salubrious, and the soil more unfruitful than formerly. The mountains are not so high, and the plains are lower than they were before. It is affirmed, that most of the wells can be reached with ropes, shorter by two or three feet, than were formerly required: "A monument," says an eloquent writer, "of the fragility of conquest, which should have taught Europeans not to trust to the possession of a world, that trembles under their feet, and seems to slip out of their rapacious hands."

Scarcely had the remaining inhabitants recovered from the confusion into which this dreadful disaster had thrown them when they were menaced with a new species of danger, little less alarming. War betwixt England and France had again commenced, to curb the insolence, and repress the ambition of Lewis the Fourteenth. France, as might naturally be expected, viewing with a jealous eye, the commercial prosperity of England, judged this a fit opportunity of snatching Jamaica from her grasp. With this view, Monsieur Du Casse, governor of St. Domingo, invaded the island on the 17th day of June 1694, with three ships of war, twenty privateers, and fifteen hundred men. He landed eight hundred soldiers, at Cow-bay in the parish of St. David, with orders to desolate the country as far as Port Morant; and the militia being draughted to the defence of the capital, his orders were executed with a barbarous precision. The French troops were accused by Sir William

Beeston, who had been appointed governor in the preceding year, on the death of Lord Inchequin, of the most dreadful enormities, burning wantonly the richest plantations, and massacring the defenceless inhabitants. Having satiated their desire of devastation and plunder, they reembarked with all the property they could seize. They carried with them about a thousand Negroes, and steered their course to the bay of Carlisle, which is situated to the westward of the capital. Here Du Casse landed fifteen hundred troops, and expected by renewing his depredations, to destroy the property of the colonists, and enrich himself, and his rapacious followers. At the head of his troops, he attacked a miserable breast-work, which was bravely defended by two hundred of the militia. But their officers, Colonel Clayborn, Lieutenant-Colonel Smart, Captain Vassall, and Lieutenant Dawkins being killed, and many of them wounded, they were obliged to yield to superior numbers, and were beginning to retire, when five companies of militia from the capital opportunely arrived. These brave men, unaccustomed to military enterprizes, having, in this burning climate, marched thirty miles without refreshment, and though much inferior in numbers to the French regular troops, immediately charged them with such resolution, that they hastily retreated to their shipping, and speedily reembarking, sailed to St. Domingo with their booty. Thus did a handful of brave men, scarcely recovered from disease and disaster, repel a numerous body of invaders, whose trade was war, whose enmity was inveterate, and whom poverty made rapacious.—The French, after this period, seem never to have entertained any expectations of conquering Jamaica; at least, they have never since seriously attempted it.

During the administration of Sir William Beeston, the colony began once more to flourish. Houses were again built, planta-

tions settled, lands cleared, and commerce re-established. An invasion of St. Domingo, in retaliation for the late attempt on Jamaica, was now planned, and carried into execution. In the year 1695, a squadron arrived from England, with twelve hundred soldiers on board, commanded by Colonel Luke Lillingston. They received considerable aid from Sir William Beeston, and having landed in St. Domingo, they amply chastised the French for their former temerity.

Meanwhile Port Royal, being very favourably situated for commerce, again rose from its ashes. Industry and trade soon renewed the appearances and the reality of wealth and splendour. Merchants built new houses within a few yards of the spot, where their former residences were covered with water, and were still visible under its surface. So strong is the love of gain, that great numbers scrupled not to settle on a spot, which seemed proscribed by the decrees of heaven, which is nearly surrounded by the sea, destitute of fresh water, and in a peculiar manner, exposed to the fury of the most destructive agents of nature!

In the year 1698, the colony very opportunely received a valuable accession of inhabitants. The Scots, a people, naturally high-spirited, temperate, and industrious, had formed a settlement on the isthmus of Darien, which seems to have been planned with judgment, and conducted with prudence. But even these precautions are unable to ward off those calamities, which arise from the treachery, and the malice of mankind. William the Third, the best king that ever sat on the throne of England, either disliking the Scots for their ardent attachment to the Stuart family, or prejudiced against them by the insinuations and jealousy of the English courtiers, withdrew his protection from the new colony, forbidding all the governors of the English West India islands, to furnish the Scots colonists.

with either food or water, and even prohibiting their admission into the English ports. The Scots, unable to procure the necessaries of life in a country, which, though fertile, was yet uncleared, were obliged to leave their new settlement, and to sail in quest of articles necessary to their subsistence. These unhappy men, instead of meeting with that compassion, which is seldom denied to the unfortunate, were treated as if they had been pirates, and were actually refused the least assistance, and denied admission into the ports of Jamaica. Nearly starving, they were obliged, in despair, to run a-shore, where a great number of them perished, in consequence of the famine, hardships and diseases, to which they had been cruelly exposed. This harsh treatment of a brave people, to whom he had given, at least, tacitly, a promise of protection, was certainly a stain on the character of this great and good prince; and shows us, how difficult it is, for even the best of men, to act justly, when their passions, or their interests, are opposed to their duty. However, it was an event productive of beneficial consequences to Jamaica, as it furnished a number of intelligent and enterprising settlers, whose industry acquired some of the most valuable estates of the island, which are, to this day, inherited by their posterity.

Sir William Beeston dying, after a long and prudent administration, was succeeded by General Selwyn in the year 1701. The general having, like many of his predecessors, a short time after his arrival, fallen a victim to the climate, the council elected Peter Beckford, one of the richest planters in the island, governor in his stead. Queen Anne succeeding to the English throne on the death of King William, war with France again commenced, and several engagements took place in the West Indies, between the English admiral Benbow, and the French commandant, M. Du Casse. Many privateers were

fitted out by the colonists of both nations, which plundered, as usual, the industrious and peaceable merchants. The Earl of Peterborough was, at this time, appointed governor, and invested with extraordinary powers; but, having never accepted of the office, Colonel Thomas Handyside, a brave and resolute officer, was sent from England to administer the affairs of the colony, with the title of lieutenant-governor.

During his administration, the ill-fated town of Port Royal was once more doomed to destruction. On the 9th day of January 1704, a fire broke out in one of the houses, which reduced every edifice to ashes. The streets being narrow, and the town situated on a small neck of land, few of the inhabitants saved any of their property. The governor, with a laudable attention to the fate of the sufferers, furnished them, at the public expence, with the necessaries of life, and with every aid which he could possibly procure. He called a meeting of assembly, the members of which unanimously resolved, that they would reimburse the treasury, for all the expences which had been, or should be, incurred, for the relief of the unhappy sufferers. They also voted, that Port Royal should not be again rebuilt; but that the people should remove to a town, commodiously situated for trade, on the north side of the bay, which had been founded immediately after the earthquake of 1692, and which was called Kingston. In consequence of this decision of the assembly, Port Royal long remained a confused heap of ruins; but it was afterwards rebuilt, and though no longer a flourishing, is still a small, and handsome town.

Men, who, from their infancy, have been accustomed to military subjection and command, are, perhaps, less capable than their fellow-citizens, of a strict obedience to the civil law. Colonel Handyside was now loudly accused of arbitrary conduct, and of infringing on the rights of the house of assembly.

The members of this house of commons of the colony were planters, who still possessed that love of liberty, which their fathers had bequeathed to them. There is a principle, too, in human nature, which begets in a freeman, surrounded by slaves, a certain nobleness of character, and independance of spirit. The members of assembly displayed their serious displeasure at the conduct of the governor, by refusing the necessary supplies for maintaining the forts, and defraying the other public expences of the island. The consequence was, that the governor dissolved the assembly in a very imperious manner. It was natural to expect, that his administration would not be any longer agreeable to the colonists. He was soon recalled, and Lord Archibald Hamilton succeeded him. Nothing worthy of record happened during his lordship's short administration, or of that of his successor, Peter Haywood.

To Governor Haywood, succeeded Sir Nicholas Lawes, during whose administration, a dreadful hurricane happened on the 28th of August 1722. It is almost impossible for one, who has not seen the effects of this awful visitation of providence, to form an adequate idea of its horrors. It generally commences with a gentle rain, which, at first, is but little attended to; but in a short time, the winds arise, and the sea roars in a tremendous manner. The wind generally varies from the north to the east; but sometimes suddenly shifts to the south, and even to the west, after which, the work of devastation commences. The Negro-huts, being but slightly built, are soon reduced to a confused heap of ruins, while their illiterate inhabitants, ignorant of the extent of their danger, and anxious for safety, hasten with trembling steps, to the more substantial dwellings of their masters. But even here, the terrified inhabitants are not exempted from danger. The wind, with irresistible impetuosity, displaces the shingles, uplifts the

roof, forces open the doors, bursts through the windows, and having gained an entrance on every side, with an awful crash, which strikes horror into the terrified inhabitants, mixes into one confused mass, the roof, rafters, walls, floors, and furniture. The rain, meanwhile, pours down in torrents; and the unhappy sufferers, escaped from being buried alive, are menaced with a new, and a not less alarming, species of destruction. Afraid of trusting themselves in any habitation, which may yet be left standing, they are glad to repair to the shelter of large trees, from which last resource they are often driven, by the whirlwinds levelling them to the ground. The wretched sufferers, driven from their habitations, bereft of their property, exposed to a deluge, terrified by the awful howlings of the wind, and dreading the bolt of the loudly rolling thunder, are in a state, nearly bordering on despair. Night approaching, renders these horrors yet more awful. Dreadful must be the situation of these ill-fated colonists, when surrounded by gloom, and half annihilated with terror, they put up, in silence, frequent ejaculations to Heaven, for more constant flashes of lightning, that the darkness may be dissolved, and for more awful claps of thunder, that the howlings of the tempest may be deafened! Yet even these horrid comforts are almost denied them. The long, long night is passed in awful terror, death, with angry menaces, often shaking his spear, in the faces of the affrighted inhabitants.

And when the blessed light of morning again returns, instead of dispelling their fears, it only renders the horrors of their situation more visible. The green verdure which yesterday gladdened the sight, the yellow crops which waved on the plains, the rich dwellings which smiled on the landscape, the stately trees which covered and adorned the mountains, have all disappeared, while nothing on every side can be seen, but

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a scene of universal desolation. The order of nature appears, for a season, to have been reversed. Even inanimate nature seems to complain. The rational and brute creation, being equally sufferers, mix their complaints. The cow, with many a wishful look, lows mournfully, but in vain, inviting the calf, which had been snatched from her side, to return; the ewe often tenderly bleats, recalling her innocent lamb, which by the merciless hand of the tempest, had been torn from her sight, and doomed to destruction; the affectionate Negress, tearing her woolly hair, and smiting her sable breast, frantically calls on her infant once more to breathe, and again to gladden an indulgent parent with smiles; while the ruined planter, motionless and dumb with despair, in silent, but expressive anguish, yields despondingly to his fate.

The feathered tribe, timorous and defenceless, having unresistingly yielded to the fury of the hurricane, now lie scattered among the ruins, awful monuments of its fury; while the fish, having been driven from the waters, of which they had been the peaceful inhabitants, are now left to perish miserably on the earth. New streams have now arisen, and extensive lakes are spread, where rills had scarcely been observed to trickle; and ferry-boats are obliged to ply, where, but the day before, carriages used to travel in safety and convenience. The roads in the mountains become, for a long time, literally impassable; the low-lands are overflowed; whole flocks of cattle are carried away by the impetuosity of the torrents, while the boundaries of the different plantations are sunk beneath the accumulated stores of the inundation.

In the towns, the desolation is no less complete. Churches, houses, wharves, store-houses and sheds for the shelter of goods, are either overturned by the impetuous hurricane, or swept away by the roaring billows of the ocean.—This faint

description, instead of being a fictitious narrative, is only an imperfect sketch of the disasters, to which the inhabitants of the new world are subject, when they are afflicted with these awful visitations. It would be difficult to conceive, and impossible to express, the distress occasioned in the colony, by this tremendous hurricane. Such was the sense of the members of assembly of the horrors attending it, that they immediately met, and resolved, that the 28th day of August should be, for ever after, solemnly set apart, as a day of fasting and humiliation.

To Sir Nicholas Lawes, succeeded his Grace the Duke of Portland, who, arriving in Jamaica in the year 1725, was received with all imaginable splendour. It was during his administration, that the compromise between the crown of England, and the house of assembly, formerly mentioned, took place; an event, which has been productive of the most important consequences to the interests of the colonists. The duke, falling a victim to the climate, was succeeded by General Hunter, who dying in the year 1734, was succeeded by the Honourable John Ascough.

CHAPTER VI.

*Incursions of the Maroon Negroes.—Cudjoe appointed their Leader.
—Joined by the Cottawoods and Madagascars.—Peace concluded
with Cudjoe.*

A NEW species of misfortune now menaced the happiness of the colonists. The Negroes, who, on the conquest of the island by the English, either refused to embark with their Spanish masters, or were left in order to annoy the conquerors, had retired to the mountainous and uncultivated parts of the island. Here they cultivated a few vegetables, necessary to the preservation of their existence; constructed huts to shelter themselves from the inclemencies of the weather, and wandering through the woods, lived almost in a state of nature. Their females, living in a climate congenial to their constitutions, and from the richness of the soil, and the fewness of their wants, being exempted from hard labour, were remarkably prolific. Being from time to time joined by run-away slaves, they soon became numerous, and consequently, formidable. Conscious of their strength, and emboldened by a long state of security, they often descended from their haunts, and laid waste the neighbouring plantations. Planters were afraid to settle in their neighbourhood, and those who had the hardihood to attempt it, were frequently ruined, and sometimes destroyed. These Negroes were called Maroons, or Hog-hunters, and lived chiefly on those mountains in the north-east quarter of the island, called the Blue Mountains.

Here they built, in a situation strongly fortified by nature, a town, called Nanny-town. From hence they frequently descended to the plains, and became at length so formidable, that the government was necessitated to take measures, for the defence of the peaceable and industrious inhabitants.

But a separate body of Negroes, unconnected with the Maroons, had after the rebellion already mentioned, which took place in the year 1690, retired to the fastnesses of the parish of Clarendon. Their depredations had, for a considerable time, been carried on by small, wandering parties, and were chiefly confined to the destruction, and the stealing, of cattle; but their excesses had now risen to such a height, that it was necessary effectually to repress them. An armed force was provided by the government, in order to penetrate the woods, and, if possible, to discover the places of their retreat. By some parties, they were, at first, surprised, dispersed, and many of them destroyed. Before this period, they had no chief, and had wandered in gangs, under the direction of different leaders; but finding, that the colonists were determined no longer to be annoyed by them, and that parties were sent out to attack them, wherever they could be found, they concentrated their force, and elected a chief, whose name was Cudjoe;—a bold, skilful, and enterprising man, who, on assuming the command, appointed his brothers, Accompong and Johnny, to be leaders under him, and Cuffee and Quao to be subordinate captains. While these rebels in Clarendon were carrying on their depredations on the south side of the island, the Maroons in the east were pursuing a similar conduct, and for many years, rendered every attempt to settle near them impracticable. Great, but ineffectual efforts were made to destroy them; and, though they suffered severely in some well-projected attacks, yet they remained a rallying point for

all those Negroes who were harshly treated, or disposed to idleness.

Dissentions arising among the Maroons, a party of them, previous to the year 1735, had separated from the rest. These were distinguished by the name of Cottawoods. On hearing that a considerable number of slaves had quitted the upper settlements in Clarendon, and were carrying on war against the white inhabitants, under the guidance of an enterprising chief, the Cottawoods, men, women, and children, left the eastern parts of the island, and making forced marches through a wild and unexplored country, they joined the Clarendon slaves, and placed themselves under the command of their leader. Cudjoe's force was also increased, though at what period, is not certainly known, by another tribe of Negroes, distinct from the rest in many respects; their figure, character, language, and country, being different from those of their sable companions. Their skin was of a deeper jet than that of any other Negro; their features more nearly resembled those of Europeans; their hair was of a loose and soft texture, like that of a Mulatto or Quadroon; their form was more delicate, and their stature rather lower than those of the people they joined; to a European they seemed handsomer, but did not appear to have originally possessed such hardness of character, or so much physical strength, as the other slaves under the command of Cudjoe; and although they had probably lived with the latter seventy or eighty years, their original character could still be observed in their descendants. They were called Madagascars, and related, that they ran away from some settlements about Lacovia, in the parish of St. Elizabeth, soon after the planters had bought them. Though not originally numerous, they were very prolific, and added considerably to the strength of their leader, who had now become seriously formidable.

The term *Maroon* had been hitherto confined to the body of Spanish fugitive slaves; but it was now also applied to Cudjoe and his followers. Finding it necessary to adopt a more regular system of warfare, than that in which they had formerly been engaged, they, during frequent skirmishes with the troops sent out to attack them, acquired an art of attack and defence, which, in their scarcely accessible fastnesses, has often baffled the skill of the bravest soldiers. By means of his friends in the plantations, Cudjoe was always sufficiently apprized of any expedition, which was fitted out against him; and knowing the route which the troops must necessarily take, prepared ambuscades, which, from the inequality of surface, and thickness of the woods, it was utterly impossible to foresee, or overcome. Accordingly, he frequently defeated his assailants, and in this manner, supplied himself with arms and ammunition. He had other means of procuring these necessary articles of warfare; and the Maroons, sensible of the value of them, seldom fired a shot ineffectually. These circumstances enabled Cudjoe to protract the war for a great number of years.

Cudjoe's power had now become alarmingly formidable; for, besides being joined by the Cottawoods, he had established a correspondence with the old Maroons, who still carried on hostilities against the planters in the east; and who, encouraged by Cudjoe's activity and success, became bolder and more enterprising. The government, therefore, found it absolutely necessary, to establish several advanced posts, in the neighbourhood of these restless and implacable enemies. Some were formed in the east, to check the incursions of the old Maroons; and one was established in the centre of the island, which was the place nearest to the general rendezvous of Cudjoe's party, at this period, by far the most formidable. Other posts were established in various parts of the island, by means of which,

the necessity of long marches was superseded; and communications between the different parties being kept up by means of small foot-paths, the military operations were much facilitated. Confidential Negroes, called *Black-shot*, Mulattoes, and Indians from the Mosquito-shore, were added to the regular troops employed in this arduous and inglorious contest, and were of great service in tracing the haunts of the Maroons, and in discovering their settlements and provision-grounds. Cudjoe, after several skirmishes with these troops, in which they always lost the greater number, was obliged to retreat. He retired to a spot in the parish of Trelawney, near the entrance of the great cock-pits, or glens, to the north west; the first of which, called Petty-River-Bottom, has since become well known. This cock-pit is accessible only by a very narrow defile, and is considered a large one, containing nearly seven acres of land, and an excellent spring of water. Cudjoe really displayed great judgment in the choice of his position, as in case of alarm, he could throw himself into the cock-pit, from which, no force or violence could possibly force him. The choice of this position was equally judicious, with respect to the facility of commencing his predatory excursions, as the parishes of St. James, Hanover, Westmoreland, and St. Elizabeth, lay open before him, which presenting more extensive, and, consequently less defensible frontiers, afforded him favourable opportunities of acting with smaller detachments, and of obtaining abundant supplies from different quarters. Sending out parties in various directions, and to a considerable distance, he deceived the government with respect to his real situation, and even kept up alarms in the neighbourhood of his former position. He now augmented the body placed under the command of his brother Accompong, and established them on the northern border of the parish of St. Elizabeth, where the country affords an abundant supply of cattle. This station was

above the mountains of Nassau, where there is still a town, called Accompong.

Thus did these people maintain themselves for several years in a state of savage freedom, living in indolence while their provisions lasted, and ravaging the country, when excited by their wants. In their inroads, they exercised the most horrid barbarities. The weak and defenceless, whenever surprised by them, fell victims of their cruelty, and examples of their hatred; and though some were, no doubt, more humane than others, yet when commanded to embrace their hands in the blood of the whites, they all paid implicit obedience to their leader, and the work of death once commenced, no hand could arrest, no power could controul their fury, till all within the reach of their vengeance were destroyed.

Eight or nine years had elapsed since the fame of Cudjoe had united all the fugitive Negroes, of whatever origin, in a general interest. Edward Trelawney, who was now appointed governor in the room of Henry Cunningham of Balquhan, who died after an administration of six weeks, determined, if possible, to disperse and root out these formidable enemies. All the colonists capable of bearing arms volunteered their services, and a considerable force was collected under the command of Colonel Guthrie of the militia, (one of the enterprising settlers from Darien), and of Captain Sadler of the regulars. But notwithstanding the greatness of these preparations, strong apprehensions were entertained of a want of ultimate success; the consequence of which would be, that the enemy would be emboldened, their cruelties would increase, war would become perpetual, and the slaves might be successfully instigated to a general insurrection. These considerations being strongly urged by the principal planters, induced the governor to propose terms of peace to the Maroons.

As a prompt determination was on several accounts necessary, Colonel Guthrie was directed to communicate offers of accommodation to Cudjoe as soon as possible. The intelligence was extremely acceptable to the Maroons. All they demanded, and indeed, all they wished, was, to be allowed the necessities of life, and to be exempted from the horrors of slavery. Cudjoe, therefore, heard with infinite satisfaction, the determination of the government to make these concessions, and calling in all his detachments, anxiously awaited the arrival of the negociators. But judging from the formidable nature of the preparations made against him, he was afraid, that his white enemies meant to deceive and ensnare him. He therefore remained distrustful, and collecting all his force on a spot, where his people could easily defend themselves, continued inactive till the arrival of the peace-makers. His men were placed on the ledges of rocks, that rose almost perpendicularly to a great height, on a ground, which, compared to these precipices, might be called a plain, the extremity being narrowed into a passage, upon which the fire of the whole body might bear. This passage contracted itself into a defile of nearly half a mile long, and so narrow, that only one man could pass along it at a time. This defile, which has ever since retained the name of Colonel Guthrie, was one of the passages to the large cock-pit, called Petty River, already mentioned. The entrance is impregnable; the continuation of the line of smaller cock-pits rendering the rear impregnable; while nature effectually secured the flanks of her own fortification. In this dell, were secured the Maroon women and children, and all their valuable effects. Thus situated, Cudjoe awaited the arrival of the olive-branch, and manifested his desire of an accommodation, by ordering his advanced posts not to fire a shot. His parties, therefore, on the approach of the enemy, merely sounded their horns, and retreated to the main body.

Colonel Guthrie now arrived, unmolested, at the head of his troops, by a way in which the Maroons might have greatly annoyed him. Making, however, the best disposition of his forces, which the nature of the ground would permit, he marched on with confidence, and judging of his distance from the enemy by the sound of their horns, he boldly advanced till he thought he could make them hear his voice. He then halted, and observing the smoke of their huts within a few hundred yards, though he could not see one of them, he cried in a loud tone, that he was come by the governor's order, to make them an offer of peace, which, he told them, the white people anxiously desired. An answer was returned in the same manner, that the Maroons also wished for peace, requesting, at the same time, that the troops might be kept back. As this request implied suspicion, Colonel Guthrie proposed, that a person unarmed should be sent to inform them of the terms on which the governor was willing to treat with them. To this proposal, they readily consented. Dr. Russell, being deputed for that purpose, advanced to their huts, near which he was met by two Maroons, whom he informed of the purport of his message, and having asked, whether either of them was Cudjoe, they replied in the negative, but added, that if he would stay a short time, and no men followed him, he would see Cudjoe. Several Maroons now descended from the rocks, among whom the chief was easily distinguished.

Cudjoe was a short man, uncommonly stout, with harsh African features, and a peculiar wildness in his look and manners. He had a large lump of flesh upon his back, which was partially covered by the tattered remains of an old blue coat, of which the skirts and the sleeves below the elbows, were wanting. Round his head was tied a scanty piece of cloth, which had once been white. He wore a pair of loose drawers,

that did not reach his knees, and a small round hat, with the brims pared so close to the crown, that it had the appearance of a calibash. On his right side, hung a cow's horn, with some powder, and a bag of large cut slugs; on the left side, he wore a musket, or couteau, three inches broad, in a narrow sheath; suspended under his arm, by a narrow strap, which wound round his shoulder. He had no shirt on, and his clothes, such as they were, as well as the part of his skin that was exposed to view, were covered with the red dirt of the cock-pits, somewhat resembling oker. Such was the chief, and his men were as ragged, and as dirty as himself; yet they all had guns and cutlasses.

Cudjoe constantly cast his eyes towards the troops with Colonel Guthrie, appeared very suspicious, and asked many questions, before he ventured within his reach. At length Dr. Russell proposed to change hats with him as a token of friendship. To this he consented, and began to converse more freely, when Colonel Guthrie called aloud to him, assuring him of a faithful compliance with whatever Dr. Russell promised. He added, that he wished to come unarmed, along with a few of the principal gentlemen of the island, who should witness the oath he would solemnly take, of peace on his part, with liberty and security to the Maroons, on their acceding to the terms proposed. Cudjoe, after some hesitation, consented, and persuaded several of his people to come down from the rocks. As the gentlemen approached Cudjoe, he appeared to be in great trepidation; and when Colonel Guthrie advanced, and held out his hand to him, he eagerly seized and kissed it. He then threw himself on the ground, embracing the colonel's knees, kissing his feet, and asking his pardon. His followers, imitating his example, prostrated themselves, and expressed the most unbounded joy at the sincerity of the

white people. At length, to the great satisfaction and mutual advantage of both parties, the articles of the treaty were drawn up, and ratified under a large cotton tree, growing in the middle of the town, at the entrance of Guthrie's defile. The tree was ever after called Cudjoe's tree, and was held by the Maroons in great veneration. The principal terms of agreement were, that Captain Cudjoe and his followers should be allowed to remain free; that they should be suffered to possess fifteen hundred acres of land; that they should all reside in Trelawney-town; that two white men should constantly reside among them; and that they should deliver up all the run-away slaves who might in future take shelter among them.

Seldom are treaties, such as this, concluded, which tend equally to the advantage and honour of both parties. The colonists were relieved from the most alarming apprehensions, and from a rude, dangerous, and implacable enemy, whose very wretchedness rendered him formidable: The Maroons were blessed with liberty, property, and security; blessings, of the value of which, they were fully sensible, but which they never before had enjoyed.

The Maroons, in the east, under Quao, were meanwhile in arms, and had committed dreadful excesses in the parish of St. George. A considerable force was sent against them, which, after long marches through the woods, came up with the enemy, but could scarcely ever get a sight of them. The Maroons, well acquainted with all the passes, lay in ambush, for the approach of their pursuers, and taking a cool and steady aim from behind a tree, or from the middle of a thicket, they never fired a shot in vain. No sooner had they discharged their muskets, than they hastily retreated. The regular troops generally fired in the direction from which they observed the smoke of the Maroons, but being never able to perceive them,

it is not surprising, that they produced not the smallest impression on their enemies. In such an unusual and hazardous warfare, little success could be expected. This party was way-laid by the Maroons, lost several in killed and wounded, fled with precipitation, and retreated to St. George's parish, harassed, fatigued, and disgraced; and all this, without having ever seen their enemies, although they had heard their voices.

Some time after the ratification of the treaty with Cudjoe, three hundred soldiers under the command of Captain Adair, were ordered to go in quest of the Maroons in the east, under Quao, for the purpose of making peace with them. After a march of two days, through a country covered with wood, and full of dangerous precipices, the troops were led to the foot of a very high and steep mountain, where, on some provision grounds, Captain Adair halted. After some distrust on the part of Quao, terms of peace were agreed on, nearly similar to those which had been made with Cudjoe. Thus were the colonists delivered from a danger, which, for many years, had menaced their destruction, and were allowed once more to pursue in peace, their plans of cultivation and improvement, and gradually to increase in wealth, civilization, and happiness.

The English administration had in the year 1739, in compliance with the wishes of the people, again declared war against Spain. The inhabitants of Jamaica, not forgetting the wealth with which the expeditions of the Buccaneers had enriched the colony, now fitted out numbers of privateers, and acquired great booty. An expedition, the progress of which, it is not our business to record, under the brave Admiral Vernon, against the Spanish possessions of South America, was reinforced by a great number of soldiers and volunteers from

Jamaica, the inhabitants of which have, on all occasions, displayed the most laudable and undaunted courage. At this period, the people were industrious, thriving, and happy; and Governor Trelawney's administration was an honour to himself, agreeable to the inhabitants, and advantageous to his country. His memory is, to this day, held in veneration by the colonists: Men are generally mistaken respecting speculative opinions; but they easily know their benefactors, and are sufficiently grateful to those, who advance their true interests.

CHAPTER VII.

Governor Knowles's attempt to remove the Seat of Government from Spanish-town to Kingston.—Rebellion of the Negroes in the Year 1760.—Great Droughts of the Year 1764, and from 1768 to 1770.—American War.—French Revolution.—State of St. Domingo.—Maroon War.—Execution of Sas Portas.—Conclusion.

THE island advanced rapidly in improvement, cultivation, and commerce under the auspicious administration of Governor Trelawney, who was succeeded by Governor Knowles in the year 1752. Governor Knowles distinguished himself by proposing a measure, which, at first view, appeared extremely plausible, but which, if adopted, would not, in all probability have been conducive to the true interests of the colony. This was, to remove the seat of government from Spanish-town to Kingston. The reasons assigned for this proposal, were, that Kingston being the centre of the commerce of the colony, and the chief place of communication with the mother country, it would facilitate the dispatch of business, if the courts of justice, and the seat of government were established in the same place. But to this, the members of the house of assembly, with great truth, objected, that Spanish-town had for more than two centuries, been considered the most eligible spot for the administration of the affairs of the island; that, being a place of comparative retirement, it was better fitted for the purpose of cool deliberation, than Kingston; that their removal to a populous town would not only render their

attendance on the house of assembly more expensive, but would introduce a taste for luxury, and a vain desire of distinction, which would be destructive of the morals of the members, and might eventually become the causes of their corruption; and that Kingston, being, from its populousness and situation, more unhealthy than Spanish-town, they might often be prevented by disease, or a fear of being exposed to it, from an attendance on their duty. These reasons, besides others equally forcible, were urged with great earnestness by the planters, and the governor was necessitated to abandon the measure.

No event, deserving our particular attention, happened during the administration of Governor Knowles. The happiest state of society, as well as of individuals, is that which furnishes the fewest materials to the historian. A gentle, unruffled progress down the current of life, being exposed to no danger, excites little exertion; and, incapable of rousing our affections, neither affords lessons of wisdom, nor makes us anxious to acquire them. Jamaica, exposed to no danger from foreign enemies, had ample leisure to attend to the peaceful occupations of cultivation and trade, while the wealth and increasing commerce of the mother country, raised the value of, and augmented the demand for, her commodities. Governor Knowles was succeeded by Henry Moore, who was appointed lieutenant-governor in the year 1756.

During the administration of Governor Moore, an alarming insurrection of the Negroes happened in the year 1760. It was instigated and planned by one Tacky, a Coromantine Negro, who had been a chief in Guinea. He had been only a short time before, sold, along with about a hundred of his countrymen, to a planter in the parish of St. Mary. Tacky appointed Easter Monday as being the time when he was most likely to

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find the white inhabitants unprepared. At one o'clock in the morning, ninety of them met at a place of rendezvous, on Trinity estate, belonging to Zachary Bailey, and marched with great celerity and secrecy to Port Maria, where they killed the centinel, and seized four barrels of powder, a keg of musket-bullets, and all the small arms which the fort contained. They were now joined by a considerable number of their countrymen, and Tacky, with another leader called Jamaica, at their head, marched back to Ballard's Valley, adjoining to the estate which they had lately left. Here they arrived at four o'clock in the morning, killed the overseer of the estate, and three other white men. They then proceeded to Esher, where they also killed the overseer, and four other white persons; after which, they marched to Whitehall, Haywood-hall, and other estates, where they set fire to several cane-pieces, and destroyed all the white inhabitants they could find. Before eleven o'clock of the forenoon, the insurgents had killed between thirty and forty white persons and mulattoes, murdering indiscriminately all that they met with, not sparing, it is said, even infants at their mother's breasts. But it is worthy of remark, and it is but justice to even these barbarous savages to relate, that while they were ferociously murdering white persons within their reach, they suffered Abraham Fletcher to pass through them unmolested. He was a man, singularly benevolent, and ever displayed towards the Negroes, the most exemplary kindness and humanity. The rebels, though strangers, had heard his character; and from gratitude, a principle which is strongly impressed upon the minds of the most ferocious and unjust, and from that respect to a virtuous conduct, which is implanted in the breasts of all men, spared his life;—at a time too, when they considered the destruction of the whites, as essential to their own safety!

They halted at Haywood-hall, where they roasted an ox by the flames of the buildings, and while engaged in this occupation, they were attacked by about one hundred and thirty white persons and trusty Negroes. Eight of the insurgents were killed, a considerable number were taken prisoners, and the rest retreated to the woods, where they acted on the defensive. On the Thursday following, they were also attacked by a party of the Maroons, who had displayed the most ardent loyalty; but they, being much inferior in numbers, were obliged to retreat. On this occasion, young Cudjoe, son of the Maroon chief, was killed, and Tacky, the rebel chief, was wounded. They were, a few days afterwards, again attacked by a party of whites, who came up with them at a valley in the woods, where Tacky and Jamaica, with nearly the whole of their followers, were killed. This prompt and fortunate suppression of the rebellion, prevented a more general carnage of the white inhabitants, as it was afterwards ascertained, that the conspiracy was general among the Coromantine Negroes throughout the island.

In order to strike terror into the Negroes, it was, on this occasion, thought prudent to make a terrible example of some of the insurgents. Of three of them, who had been concerned in the murders committed at Ballard's Valley, one was condemned to be burnt, and the other two to be hung up alive in irons, and left to perish with hunger in that dreadful situation. The wretch condemned to be burnt, was made to sit on the ground, and his body being chained on an iron stake, the fire was applied to his feet. He never uttered a groan, but saw, with the most perfect composure, his lower extremities reduced to ashes; after which, one of his arms having been accidentally loosened, he snatched a brand from the fire that was consuming him, and flung it in the face of his executioner.

The other two unhappy wretches were suspended on a gibbet, erected on the parade in Kingston. They were indulged very improperly with a hearty meal, before they were hung up. They never uttered the least complaint, except that of being cold during the night. They often conversed freely with their countrymen; and on the seventh day from the time of their suspension, so far were they from being exhausted, or making any sorrowful complaints, that they laughed immoderately at something that occurred. The next morning, one of them silently expired; and on the ninth day, the other died without a groan. These examples had, no doubt, their intended effect, and struck terror into the breasts of their ferocious countrymen.

Though Jamaica was doubtless a sufferer in consequence of the numerous wars in which England has been engaged, yet it does not appear to be within our province, whilst narrating the affairs of the colony, to give a particular account of the rise, progress, and consequences of these wars. Such narrations are with propriety confined to the history of the mother country. The injury which this colony sustained, has consisted rather in that stagnation of trade, and a consequently decreased demand for its produce, which war never fails to effect, than in any direct losses or attacks, to which it has been exposed. But even these consequences have been sufficient to retard the prosperity of the colony, and have often put a stop to its rapid progress in the career of civilization. England was again at war with France and Spain, and the new world was the great theatre, on which the warlike exploits of both parties were chiefly performed. But for reasons just mentioned, it must be evident, that this is not the place proper for the narration of them.

The insecurity of the property and of the happiness of the

inhabitants of the new world, is evident, from a consideration of the calamities to which they are exposed. Independent of the dangers which menace them from the enormous proportion of blacks resident in the islands, and besides the destructive diseases which continually assail them, they are subjected to the baleful influence of earthquakes, hurricanes, storms, and droughts. One of the most destructive of the latter ever known in the western world, now afflicted the island of Jamaica. It lasted from the month of October 1768 to the month of May 1770. In the hilly parts, and at the extremities of the island, there fell some moderate showers. But in all the most fertile portions of the island, the drought was distressing, and productive of the most destructive effects. In Liguanea, a rich, extensive, and past description, beautiful, district of the island, as well as in the parishes of Vere and Clarendon, almost all the canes were destroyed. Many cotton trees were also killed; which is the more extraordinary, as their roots descend a prodigious length below the surface. The grass on the pastures and meadows was entirely burnt up. The plantain-walks, and all other vegetables were wholly destroyed. The wells, and even the rivers, lost their water. Immense numbers of cattle were starved to death; and many Negroes perished in consequence of famine, as well as of thirst.

But the prosperity of this colony, as well as of all the English colonies in the new world, received at this period, a far more powerful check. The mother country, in consequence of the numerous wars in which she had been engaged, had accumulated a debt, the interest of which, she found it difficult to pay. As her subjects literally groaned under the weight of taxes, which they were necessitated to bear, the executive government turned its attention to the thriving

colonists, who were not only independant, but, compared with the people of the same rank in Europe, were even rich. But the English ministers were unfortunately ill fitted for their situations; they were presumptuous, arrogant, weak, and wavering. They were incapable of entertaining those enlarged views, which enable men to rule and harmonize the discordant parts of a widely extended empire. Instead of conciliating the colonists to a measure which must have been unpalatable, they first provoked them by their haughtiness, and afterwards excited their contempt by meanness. War was by the madness of a presumptuous administration, declared against the people of North America; and thus, the richest and most powerful colonies, which the world had ever seen, were not only severed for ever from the mother country, but were actually rendered her most bitter enemies, and her most dangerous rival.

Jamaica, though unable from her insular situation, to co-operate with the colonists of North America, naturally wished well to a cause, in which her own interest was very materially concerned. The American congress published an address to all the British colonies, in which they stated with great art, and remarkable clearness, their various grievances, the causes which produced them, and the direful consequences, which a continuance of them would undoubtedly perpetuate*. The house of assembly presented a petition and memorial to the king, in favour of their oppressed brethren of North America, couched in strong but respectful language. They professed the most perfect duty and allegiance to the throne, and the strongest attachment to, and reliance on, their fellow subjects of Great Britain; while they added, that these dispositions

* See Appendix, No. 1.

were founded on that most durable basis, the continued enjoyment of their personal rights, and the security of their property. They adduce their constant good behaviour, and even their weakness, and inability of resistance, as evidences, that they cannot be actuated by factious, or dangerous motives; and proceed to shew, that the most dreadful calamities to their island, and the inevitable destruction of the small sugar colonies, must be produced, by a continuance of the present unhappy and unnatural contest with the Americans. They afterwards enter into a full, free, and argumentative discussion of the claims of the mother country, and of the rights of the colonies, the former of which, they combat with great force. They absolutely deny, that their ancestors, the settlers or conquerors of the colonies, could receive any rights or privileges from their fellow subjects in England, at the time of their emigration; the peers could not communicate their privileges, and the people had no rights, but those of which the former were equally possessed; but the crown, whose prerogatives were totally independant of both, for the great purposes of colonization, communicated to all the colonies, though in different degrees, a liberal share of its own royal powers of government. These powers, as well as their original rights and privileges, they add, had been confirmed to them by every means which can be devised for affording security to mankind; by charters, proclamations, proscription, compact, protection, and obedience. From the foregoing and other premises, they infer, that the colonists are not the subjects of the people of England, and consequently insist on their own rights of legislation. They afterwards with boldness declare, that they equally deplore, and behold with amazement, a plan, almost carried into execution, for reducing the colonies to an abject state of slavery; and they supplicate the throne, and demand

and claim from the sovereign, as the guarantee of their just rights, that no laws shall be forced upon them, injurious to their rights, as men and Englishmen; and that, as the common parent of his people, his majesty would become a mediator between his European and American subjects*.

But petition, remonstrance, complaint, advice, argument, and inference, were alike unavailing. The English ministers, with a blindness and infatuation surpassing all example, persevered in their unpopular and tyrannical schemes; excited the detestation and terror of all the colonists of the new world, and actually declared war against their fellow subjects. The people of the English North American colonies, actuated by that love of liberty which had induced their ancestors to emigrate from their native land; inspired by that regard for self-interest, which actuates all men, and which, when founded on justice, is always respectable; and having the most glorious of all objects in view, the security of their independance, struggled with the power of a mighty empire, which, happily for them, was directed by wavering and imbecile ministers, surmounted every obstacle, and, at length, secured their rights on a permanent foundation. The inhabitants of Jamaica, as they themselves had foretold, suffered severely from the contest. Their trade with the continental colonies, which was not only useful, convenient, and lucrative, but was even necessary to their comfortable subsistence, was annihilated; their coasts were threatened and annoyed, and their ships and commodities were captured by the American privateers; the demand for their produce, in consequence of the war which succeeded in Europe, was lessened; their commerce was nearly destroyed; and their incitements to industry were removed. In this state,

* See Appendix, No. 2.

did Jamaica, as well as the other English West India colonies remain, during the whole of that awful contest, which equally excites our regret and detestation, and the direful consequences of which, were frequently and loudly foretold, by every enlightened and patriotic friend of his country.

Scarcely were the inhabitants of Jamaica relieved from the dreadful effects of war, that awful scourge of mankind, which seems to be interwoven with the very existence of civilized society, and which, when civil, as in this instance, is always the more destructive, when they were alarmed and harassed by the terrible, but unavoidable, dispensations of Providence. In the space of seven years, no fewer than five hurricanes desolated, at five successive periods, the fairest and most fruitful portions of Jamaica. The rich crops of sugar-canes, were, as usual, destroyed; the hopes of the planter were blasted; the provision-grounds were laid waste; and many thousands of Negroes perished by famine and disease. But so rich is the soil, and so genial the climate of this valuable island, so great is the demand for, and so highly prized are, its productions in Europe, such the skill and industry of the merchants and planters, that in the year 1790, only four years distant from its last desolation by a hurricane, it had arrived at a high and unexampled state of prosperity.

At this period, Europe was agitated with the most awful convulsion that ever affected the political world. The gothic fabric of government, venerable, but weak, was shook to its foundation, and threatened with overthrow. The people of every part of the civilized world imbibed new sentiments, and seemed desirous of adopting a new system. The contagion was soon conveyed across the Atlantic ocean, and spread with a rapidity, which threatened destruction to all the established governments of the West Indies. In St. Domingo, which,

whether we consider the extent of its surface, the richness of its soil, the nature of its climate, the excellence and number of its ports, the greatness of its trade, or the immensity of its population, is undoubtedly the first and most valuable of the West India islands, all was uproar, confusion, and dismay. The slaves declared themselves free, seized and destroyed the persons and property of their former masters, and were at length enabled to drive all their enemies from the island. This disastrous event could not fail to alarm the white inhabitants of the other West India islands. The inhabitants of Jamaica were, of all others, the most materially interested. Their commerce, their riches, the number, and perhaps the disposition of their slaves, and the proximity of their situation to the black republic of St. Domingo, placed them in a perilous situation. It is not, therefore, at all surprising, that they should have watched with the utmost vigilance, the disposition of their own free Negroes and slaves.

In this state of anxiety and alarm, did the inhabitants of Jamaica remain, till the year 1795, when they were roused to action by the threats, insubordination, and resistance of the Maroon Negroes of Trelawney-town. These men had lived since the year 1739, in a state of simplicity and happiness, and had often been extremely useful to the colonists. But many of them, especially the young men, had now become troublesome and turbulent. At any other period, the causes of their discontent, as far as they were reasonable, might safely have been removed, by the concessions of a liberal and enlightened policy. Yet considering the peculiarity of their situation, the colonists were highly and justly alarmed, and dreaded, lest the Maroons should suppose, that concession proceeded from fear. The government, therefore, wisely, and indeed, necessarily, determined, to punish them effectually for their misconduct. The

regular troops were set in motion, martial law was proclaimed, the militia was called out, and war commenced between the colonists, and the Maroons of Trelawney-town.

During this critical period, the island was under the government of Alexander Earl of Balcarras, a nobleman happily adapted for his situation, being distinguished for assiduity, and possessed of the highest ability, prudence, and courage. This praise his lordship has not only merited by the uniform tenor of his conduct, but has actually been bestowed, by the most unerring of all judgments, the uniform, grateful, and undisputed voice of the people, who lived under his administration. As soon as the Maroons had expelled Captain Craskell, their superintendant from Trelawney-town, their hostile intentions became evident, and after some ineffectual attempts at conciliation, the governor found it necessary to proclaim martial law, and to detain a number of troops, which had been destined to the island of St. Domingo, at that time, in possession of the British forces. All the Maroons of Accompong-town remained loyal, while many of those of Trelawney-town surrendered themselves to Lord Balcarras. It is therefore, at first view, surprising, that a war carried on betwixt two or three hundred half-wild Negroes, and fifteen hundred regular troops, supported by several thousands of militia, should have excited the smallest alarm. But the situation of the colony, surrounded by dangerous and implacable enemies, and bearing the seeds of a dreadful contention in its bosom, joined to the disposition and habits of the Maroons, and the mountainous and impassable nature of the seat of war, rendered it an object of the most serious attention to the colonists.

Lord Balcarras issued a proclamation on the 8th day of August from Montego-bay, advising and commanding, every Maroon capable of bearing arms, to appear before him, and to

submit themselves to his Majesty's mercy, and offering a reward for their heads after the 22d day of August. A copy of this proclamation being sent to the Maroons, Colonel Sandford advanced with a party of troops and militia to the foot of a mountain, four miles north of the Maroon-town. His lordship, the governor, meanwhile advanced to Vaughan's field, within a mile and a half of the town. Colonel Sandford was immediately ordered to take possession of the New Town, by which he would have the rebels in the rear, while his lordship would have them in front. Colonel Sandford advanced at the head of his troops, took possession of the New Town, and, without halting, or taking possession of some neighbouring provision-grounds, as he had been ordered, marched through a narrow defile towards the Old Town. In this place, the Maroons remained hid behind the bushes, from whence, a tremendous and unexpected volley of small arms was fired upon the left of the column, from one end to the other. Colonel Sandford fell, and the whole party retreated in the greatest disorder; leaving, in the defile, thirty-six of their companions dead, besides whom, many were wounded; while, such was the superiority of the situation of the Maroons, that not an individual of them fell.

The Maroons immediately retired to Guthrie's defile, leaving only an out-post, composed of a few men, at the Old Town. Meanwhile, the governor attacked, and took possession of this place. His lordship, notwithstanding the defeat of the brave, but rash Colonel Sandford, determined to surround the Maroons, and, if possible, to cut them off from all communication and supplies. For this purpose, vast numbers of Negroes were employed to fell trees, in order that posts, at convenient distances, might be established. Many partial skirmishes took place, in all of which, the Maroons had the manifest superiority,

no fewer than seventy of the assailants being killed, and twenty-three wounded, while not one Maroon was known to have fallen.

Numerous attacks were afterwards made upon them with various success; but though the Maroons were necessitated to retreat, they were far from being subdued. A few of these Negroes had, during the space of five months, defied the whole power of the island, had burnt many valuable properties, and destroyed several excellent officers, and a considerable number of troops. On a consideration of these circumstances, the colonists were justly alarmed, and anxiously wished for a return of peace; but it was deemed impolitic and dangerous to treat with the Maroons, lest they should have supposed themselves invincible. Another mode of warfare was now proposed and adopted. Colonel Quarrell, a planter of eminence, and a member of the house of assembly, was employed at his own request, by the executive government of the colony, to visit the island of Cuba, and to bring from thence a sufficient supply of dogs, for the purpose of discovering the places of retreat of the Negroes. These animals are employed by the Spaniards in discovering the haunts of the absconded criminal or run-away Negro, or in hunting down the wild hog. They are extremely ferocious, and are always, when at home, kept in chains; but when walking with their masters, are uniformly muzzled, except when prepared for attack. They are as big as a very large hound, with ears erect, which are generally cropped at the points; the nose is more pointed, but widens much towards the after-part of the jaw.

Colonel Quarrell, with great zeal and activity, executed the important commission entrusted to him, and landed on the 14th day of December 1795, at Montego-bay, with forty Spanish chasseurs, and one hundred and four dogs. These

formidable enemies struck terror into the Maroons, and made them anxious for terms of accommodation. Accordingly, peace was concluded on the 21st day of December, between the Maroons and General Walpole, the commanding officer. The articles were few and simple: The Maroons promised to beg pardon of his majesty on their knees; to go to any place, and settle on any lands, which the government might allot to them; and to give up all run-aways. To these articles, was added a secret one, in which General Walpole stipulated upon oath, that the Maroons should not be sent out of the island.

Lord Balcarras ratified the treaty on the 28th day of December, and fixed on the 1st day of January 1796, for the surrender and submission of the Maroons. They came in slowly, and with evident reluctance. So much was this the case, that the surrender was not complete, till the 22d day of March. This slowness to comply with their own agreement, was, with justice, considered as a breach of the treaty; and the army, with the dogs in its rear, was, on the 12th day of January, ordered to advance. However, the Maroons finally submitted, before the colonists were under the necessity of employing the dogs. A committee, composed of members of the council, and house of assembly resolved, that all the Maroons who came in after the 1st day of January, should be sent off the island. This resolution was carried into effect; and these turbulent, dangerous, but ill-fated, individuals were transported to Halifax in Nova Scotia, from whence they were afterwards removed to Sierra Leone, a large district on the coast of Africa. In this manner, terminated one of the most extraordinary wars, recorded in the annals of history.

The satisfaction of the inhabitants at the successful termination of a contest, pregnant with danger and alarm, was

extreme. The house of assembly voted thanks, and seven hundred guineas for the purchase of a sword, to be presented to the governor, Lord Balcarras. They also voted thanks, and five hundred guineas to buy a sword, to General Walpole. The governor expressed his grateful sense of the flattering approbation of the assembly; but General Walpole, conceiving the treaty which he had made with the Maroons to have been infringed, refused to accept of the sword voted to him. To Colonel Quarrell, they voted the sum of seven hundred pounds current money of the island*.

The inhabitants of Jamaica were now left to pursue their peaceful pursuits. But so peculiarly precarious is their situation, that notwithstanding their great increase in wealth and political power, they were still exposed to the most serious alarms. In the year 1798, a number of run-away slaves had joined together in the Trelawney mountains, and under the direction of a Negro called Cuffee, committed several depredations on the neighbouring settlers. But these wretches seem to have had no specific object in view, and as their number amounted only to forty-three, they were speedily and easily suppressed.

The distressing mortality of the British forces in the West Indies, induced the administration of the mother country, to recommend to the colonial legislatures, the employment of black troops for the defence of the country. But the council and assembly of Jamaica have uniformly and warmly opposed this measure, as they conceive, that it would be ultimately productive of the most dangerous consequences. On the final

* For a full and interesting account of the various events of this war, the reader is referred to Dallas's History of the Maroons, in 2 vols. 8vos. a work which is, in an eminent degree, equally entertaining and instructive. It would be vain to endeavour to throw further light on a subject, which has been delineated by the pencil of such an eminent master.

evacuation of St. Domingo by the British troops in the month of October 1798, they were alarmed lest the Negroes, who had, in that island, been employed in the military service, should have been landed in Jamaica. They consequently presented an address to the governor, stating their anxiety, and requesting his compliance with their wishes. His lordship's reply was satisfactory, and removed their apprehensions. To shew, however, that their opposition to the employment of black troops did not arise from a wish to save expence, the house of assembly agreed, to raise and pay two thousand soldiers in the mother country, who, after a certain number of years, should have a small recompence for their services, in the enjoyment of lands; and as a proof of their gratitude to the governor, and their confidence in his wisdom, they requested that he should be appointed commander in chief of these forces. This excellent plan was unfortunately never put in execution; and in its stead, the 1st and 4th battallions of the 60th regiment were sent to Jamaica, and maintained at the expence of the island.

In the year 1799, the inhabitants were alarmed with a projected invasion by the French from St. Domingo; but the plot being happily discovered, the spies were seized, and one of them, called Sas Portas, was hanged on the parade of Kingston. Lord Balcarras returned to his native country in the year 1801, after a long and happy administration, accompanied by the esteem, respect, and gratitude, of a flourishing and happy people. Since that time, the colony has continued free from any terror of invasion or insurrection; and has been, and is now, making rapid advances in the career of cultivation, commerce, wealth, and improvement*.

* See Note (f.)

Having thus given a succinct but faithful account of the civil history of Jamaica, we shall now proceed to consider its climate, soil, population, commerce, and natural productions; the religion, laws, and manners of its inhabitants; the diseases to which they are subject, the dangers with which they are threatened, and the advantages which they enjoy.

END OF THE HISTORY.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Climate, Soil, Scenery, and natural Productions.

THE climate of Jamaica is, generally speaking, extremely hot, throughout the whole year. Yet, owing to various causes, it is less warm, than if we judge, from the heat of places under the same parallel of latitude in the old world, we would at first view expect. In the evening, and during the night, the air is delightfully cool: In the morning, from sun-rise, till seven o'clock of the forenoon, the coolness, freshness, fragrance of the air, are extremely delightful; but from this period, till the sea-breeze commence, which generally happens about ten o'clock, the heat, especially in the low-lands, is almost insufferable.

The strong current of air blowing constantly from the east, which owing to the motion and transparency of the waters of an extensive ocean, is kept far more cool, than it possibly could be on an extensive continent, and the land-wind, which generally commences towards sun-set, are the chief causes of the greater coolness of the islands of the western Archipelago. The land-wind arising from the tops of the mountains, which lie nearly due east and west, is occasioned by the hot rarified air of the plains ascending to the summits of these mountains, where, being condensed by cold, and made consequently specifically heavier, it descends back in a current to the low-lands, both towards the north and south.

The winter of Jamaica, if the term may be allowed, when speaking of a tropical region, continues from December till May. The appellation of winter, however, to the coldest season of this island, if taken in a strict sense, will be apt to mislead a native of the north of Europe, who has never experienced its heat. The shortest day is of two hours less duration than the longest; and the thermometer of Fahrenheit seldom varies throughout the whole year, more than 10° . Thus, in the summer months, from June to November, in Kingston, and the sultry plains on the south side of the island, the heat, on a medium, is about 80° of the same thermometer. From December till May, it ranges from 70° to 80° ; and, during the night, even in Kingston, the air is sometimes surprisingly cool. Yet, in the hottest months, at this place, the difference between the temperature of noon-day and midnight, is not greater than 5° or 6° .

But owing to the immense height of the mountains of Jamaica, and the other large islands of the West Indies, the difference of temperature is great in places, only a few miles distant from each other. In the highlands of Liguanca, eight miles distant from Kingston, the heat is, at the same period, 10° less than in the town; and at Cold Spring, a gentleman's seat, six miles higher, the general state of the thermometer is from 55° to 65° . It even sometimes falls so low as 44° , in which case, a fire, even at noon-day, is not only comfortable, but necessary; and, at this place, is actually used during a great part of the year.

The sky, except in the rainy season, is charmingly serene; and at night, the moon and planets shine with a glorious lustre. Indeed, the night, while the moon is above the horizon, appears to be only a milder day; and Venus, sparkling with inexpressible lustre, casts a shade from trees and houses, not unlike the

moon of northern climes. The resplendency of that constellation of fixed stars, called the milky way, is grand and delightful. These effects arise from the great rarity of the atmosphere; on account of which also, there is scarcely any twilight.

There are two rainy seasons in the year; one of which generally begins in April, and continues during the month of May; the other commences in September, and concludes about the end of October. The former season produces but light showers in comparison of the torrents of rain which fall in the latter. The rain in the former season, too, seldom continues long, frequently breaking up in thunder storms at noon, after which, a rich vegetation and a smiling verdure, indescribably beautiful, gladden the sight. After this short season of moisture, the weather becomes dry, settled, and salubrious; no cloud obscures the firmament; the lord of day shines with a glorious lustre; the blue sky blazes; and the summer of the new world reigns in full glory. In this state, the weather continues till the middle of August, when the diurnal breeze often intermits, calms frequently smooth the surface of the sea, while the air becomes sultry and suffocating. During the next four weeks, dead calms and light winds generally prevail; and, at this time, the thermometer sometimes rises to 90°. These are the preludes to the great rainy season, in which the waters literally pour down in torrents; the banks of the rivers are overflowed; the roads become impassable; the grounds at the bottom of the hills are covered with water; and the earth seems threatened with a second deluge.

The soil of Jamaica is, in many places, deep and fertile; yet, owing to the extreme inequality of surface, the quantity of rich, productive land, is but small, in proportion to the whole. The greater part, too, of what has been cultivated, is of a middling quality, and requires labour and manure to make

it yield liberally. And though, from the heat of the climate, vegetation is quickly produced, yet this island cannot, on the whole, be deemed very productive. For it is a fact, that it contains nearly four millions of acres, scarcely one half of which is yet located, or taken up, by grants from the crown. Thus, it appears, that one half of the lands is considered of no value, as the taking out of a patent is but a trifling expence; and of the other half, perhaps not more than one million of acres are cultivated. But though nearly one half of the island be incapable of improvement, yet such is the powerful influence of great and continual moisture, that the mountains are covered with extensive woods, containing excellent timbers, some of them of prodigious growth and solidity. As the country is abundantly wooded, it is equally well watered. There are one hundred rivers, which take their rise in the mountains, and run, many of them, with great rapidity to the sea. None of them are deep enough to be navigable, if we except, perhaps, Black river, in the parish of St. Elizabeth, which, flowing, for the most part, through a level country, is the deepest river in the island, and admits canoes and flat-bottomed boats to the distance of thirty miles from its mouth.

The trees which cover and adorn the mountains, are various, numerous, and beautiful. Many of them rise to a prodigious height, as the papaw and the palmeto-royal, the latter of which is frequently found one hundred and forty feet high. The following are also of an enormous size, and are so compact as to sink in water; lignum vitæ, dog-wood, iron-wood, pigeon-wood, green-heart, braziletto, and bully-trees. The mahogany, the cedar, the ceiba or wild cotton-tree, and the fig-tree, are all of a gigantic growth. Some of these, as for instance, the two former, exhibit trunks which measure ninety feet from the base to the limbs. The ceiba, when hollowed out,

has been known to furnish a boat, capable of containing one hundred persons. These trees serve many useful purposes; and some of them, as the mahogany, *lignum vitæ*, &c. have become articles of commerce. Of softer kinds of wood, for boards and shingles, the species are innumerable; and there are many well adapted for cabinet-work, such as the bread-nut, the wild lemon, and several others.

The fruits which grow spontaneously in Jamaica, can scarcely be equalled by the fairest portions of the old world, whether we consider their beauty, richness, or variety. Among these, are the annana, or pine-apple, custard apple, tamarind, papaw, guava, sweet-sop, cushew-apple, cocoa-nut, star-apple, grenadilla, avocado-pear, hog-plum, pindal-nut, nesbury, mammee, sapota, Spanish-gooseberry, and prickly-pear. The orange, Seville and China, which are excellent; and grow in great abundance, the lemon, lime, and shaddock; the vine, melon, fig, and pomegranate, were, in all probability, introduced by the Spaniards. The peach, the strawberry, and the rose-apple, have been introduced by English settlers; but, except on the tops of the highest mountains, they attain to no great perfection. A botanical garden was established in the year 1773, under the sanction, and at the expence, of the house of assembly, which now contains many valuable exotics. In the year 1782, Admiral Rodney captured a French ship from the island of Bourbon, which was carrying a valuable cargo of oriental plants, such as the genuine cinnamon, the mango, and many others, to Cape François in St. Domingo: He generously presented these plants to the island of Jamaica. They have since been industriously propagated; and the cinnamon may be said to be naturalized. Seven plantations of it have been established; and one planter has been known to set, at one

time, fifty thousand plants. The mango is a delicious fruit, and has almost become as plentiful as the orange.

The several kinds of kitchen-garden produce known in Europe, are reared in abundance in the mountainous districts; and the markets of Kingston, and Spanish-town, are plentifully supplied with cabbages, lettuces, carrots, turnips, parsnips, artichokes, kidney-beans, green-peas, asparagus, and many other European herbs. Some of these have even been considered as of a superior flavour, to those, of the same kinds which are reared in England. However, some of the esculent vegetables of the native growth of the island, are not inferior to any of those yet mentioned; as the chocko, ochra, Lima-bean, and Indian-kale. The other indigenous plants of this class, are, plantains, bananas, yams of several varieties, calalue, (a species of spinage), besides cassavi and sweet potatoes. A mixture of these, stewed with salted fish, or salted meat of any kind, and highly seasoned with Cayenne pepper, is a favourite Olio among the Negroes. An unripe plantain, when roasted, is an excellent substitute for bread; and is preferred to it by the Negroes, and many of the white inhabitants. To the former, indeed, it may be called the staff of life, many thousands of acres being constantly covered with it for their daily use. The bread-fruit tree of the South-sea islands has been introduced by the bounty of his present majesty George the Third; but, though in many places cultivated, it has by no means superseded the use of the plantain.

In many regions of the torrid zone, the forests, mountains, and morasses, are infested by wild beasts of untameable fierceness; by broods of hideous serpents, possessed of mortal venom, and inextinguishable fury. But the bite of no serpent in the West Indies is mortal; and Jamaica harbours no animal of prey to desolate or destroy. Even the largest alligator,

whose fierceness has been so much exaggerated, when met on the banks of the rivers, manifests in this island, no savageness of disposition, but is a mild, timid creature, which anxiously avoids the approach of man. All the minute individuals of the lizard tribe are here innoxious, and many of them beautiful. Of the intermediate species of this tribe, the inguana, nearly three feet long, and proportionably bulky, was formerly hunted by the native Indians, and furnished the most desirable part of their food. Its flavour is like that of the turtle, and though it is a species of food highly prized by the French and Spanish, is seldom to be met with at the tables of the English settlers. The quadrupeds of Jamaica consisted, in former times, of eight species. 1. The Agouti. 2. The Pecary. 3. The Armadillo. 4. The Opossum. 5. The Raccoon. 6. The Musk-Rat. 7. The Alco. 8. The Monkey. Of this number, only the first and last have escaped the sad fate of the original inhabitants of the island. Even the Alco, a little mute dog, fond and faithful, and once highly prized by its innocent and happy Indian masters, is now, like them, exterminated.

The regions of air and water are plentifully filled with inhabitants. A great variety of wild fowl and other birds of excellent flavour is to be found in the woods; of which, the ring-tail dove is, by many, deemed the most delicious. But that which is perhaps the most delicious of all birds, is the *emberiza orizavora*, the ortolan, or rice-bird of South Carolina. These little birds fatten upon the milky rice of that region, early in the autumn; and when the grain begins to harden, they visit Jamaica in prodigious numbers in October, to feed there on the seeds of the Guinea-grass. The manner in which the aborigines of this island caught the wild-fowl, is curious, and shows, that they possessed considerable ingenuity, as well as dexterity. In the ponds or marshes to which these birds

resorted, they threw several calabashes, (a species of gourd), which, floating on the surface, the wild-fowl accustomed to the appearance, approached without fear. Having thus far succeeded, the sportsman put one of the gourds upon his head, having previously made apertures for sight and breath. He then very cautiously crept into the pond, gently swimming, when in deep water, or walking slowly, when it was shallow, with his head only above the surface. In this manner, he arrived at the place where the flocks of fowl were collected, and seizing one at a time by the feet, and dragging it by a dexterous jerk downwards, he fastened it to his girdle; and thus, without creating the smallest alarm or disturbance among the rest of the flock, he loaded himself with as many as he could carry away. Their methods of catching fish were equally ingenious.

Among a number of birds eminent for brilliancy of plumage, the parrot and its various varieties, from the stout macaw, to the tiny parroquet, deserve to be mentioned. This numerous and beautiful tribe still adorns the groves of Jamaica. But the flamingo, a large and elegant bird, as big as a swan, and arrayed with plumage of the brightest scarlet, is no longer to be seen. Still, however, the groves are adorned and delighted by the humming bird, at once the most remarkable and the most beautiful in the world. It is little larger than a beetle, but its colours are enchanting, and mock the mimicry of art, exhibiting in an exquisite combination, the fine green of the emerald, the rich purple of the amethyst, and the deep blaze of the ruby. The music of the groves of Jamaica is, no doubt, infinitely inferior to that which delights the inhabitants of Europe: But the curious imitations of the mocking-bird, the plaintive notes of the amorous dove, and the incessant hum of innumerable insects, together with the sighing of the trees, and

the rustling of the sugar-canes, form a concert inexpressibly delightful, soothing the soul, and inviting meditation.

There are several species of grain cultivated in this island; but none of them of European growth. To this observation, rice may perhaps be deemed an exception; but it is seldom cultivated, both because the situations in which it can be reared are unhealthy, and because the Negroes can be engaged in more profitable employments. Maize, or Indian corn, generally produces two crops in the year, and often three. It may be planted at any time, when there is rain; and it yields from fifteen to forty bushels per acre, according to the richness of the soil. Guinea corn produces but one crop in the year. It is planted in the month of September, and gathered in the January following: It yields from thirty to sixty bushels per acre. Various kinds of calavances, a species of pea, are likewise reared.

This island also abounds with various grasses of an excellent quality. Of the native grass, good hay is made, but in no great quantity, husbandry being but little practised. And it is the less necessary, as there are two exotic grasses, which are extremely valuable, and yield great abundance of food for cattle. The first is an aquatic plant, called *Scots grass*. It rises to the height of five or six feet, has long succulent joints, and is of a very quick vegetation. From a single acre of this plant, five horses may be maintained for a whole year, allowing fifty-six pounds weight of grass to each *per diem*. The other kind, called *Guinea grass*, may be considered as next to the sugar-cane in point of importance; the greater part of the grazing and breeding farms, or penns, throughout the island, being originally created, and still supported, chiefly by means of this invaluable herbage. Hence arise the plenty, the cheapness, and the excellence of the horned cattle. Perhaps the

cultivation of the northern parishes is wholly owing to the introduction of this excellent grass, which happened accidentally about sixty years ago. The seeds of it were brought from the coast of Guinea, as food for some birds, which were presented to Mr. Ellis, chief justice of the island. Fortunately, the birds did not live long enough to consume the whole stock; the remainder being thrown carelessly into a place surrounded with a fence, grew and flourished; and it was not long, before the eagerness displayed by the cattle to reach the grass, attracted the attention of Mr. Ellis, who was also a planter, and induced him to collect and propagate the seeds, which now thrive remarkably in some of the most rocky parts of the island, bestowing fertility and verdure on lands, which would otherwise have neither been worthy nor capable of cultivation.

Of the springs, which very generally abound, even in the highest mountains, some are medicinal, and are recommended by physicians, as highly efficacious in curing disorders peculiar to the climate. The most remarkable of these is found in the eastern parish of St. Thomas, the fame of which has created a village in its neighbourhood, called The Bath. The water flows out of a rocky mountain, and is so hot, that the hand cannot with safety be held immersed in it. A thermometer of Fahrenheit, when plunged in this water, has been known to rise instantly to 123° . The spring is sulphureous, and there are others in various parts of the island, both sulphureous and chalybeate, the properties of which have as yet been but little investigated, and are consequently little known. In many parts of the country, there are strong indications of metals; and it is asserted by several early writers, that the Spanish settlers once had mines both of silver and copper. This is not improbable, as a lead-mine was opened not many years ago, near to

the Hope estate in the parish of St. Andrew, where there was a sufficient quantity of ore, but which, the high price of labour, or the ignorance of the proprietors respecting the best modes of preparing the metals, prevented from succeeding. But the proprietors of land in this colony are far more agreeably, as well as more profitably, employed in cultivating the surface of the earth, than in digging into its bowels.—This sketch of the natural history of Jamaica is merely intended to gratify and inform the general reader. Those who wish for further information on this subject, are referred to the valuable, though voluminous, performances of Dr. Brown, Sir Hans Sloane, and Dr. Long.

The scenery of Jamaica is beautiful beyond description. No man, however blunted his feelings, can behold it without emotion. To a Briton who first approaches the island, every thing is new. Lofty mountains covered to the top with immense forests, and hiding their heads in the clouds; the size, structure, and verdure of the trees; the delightful variety of their darker and lighter shades; the beauteous appearance of the shrubs; the purity of the air; the richness and variety of the landscape; the structure of the houses; the colour, dress, appearance and manners of the inhabitants, all excite astonishment, wonder, and delight.

The land at a small distance from the shore rises into hills rather beauteous than bold; being all of gentle ascent, and generally separated from each other by spacious vales and romantic inequalities; but they are seldom craggy, nor is the transition from the hills to the vallies often abrupt. Nature has in almost every instance rounded the hills towards the top with singular felicity. It is impossible for an Englishman at first view of these objects, not to be strongly impressed with a recollection of Milton's delicious description of Paradise; and

indeed it is by no means extravagant to suppose, that the high-spirited author of that most sublime of all poems, *Paradise Lost*, drew his descriptions of the garden of Eden from the accounts of those travellers who first visited this delightful region.

He to the border comes
 Of Eden, where delicious paradise
 Now nearer crowns with her inclosure green,
 As with a *rural mound*, the champaign head
 Of a steep wilderness, whose hoary sides
 With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
 Access deny'd; and over head up-grew
 Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
 Cedar and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
 A sylvan scene! and as the ranks ascend,
 Shade above shade, a woody theatre
 Of stateliest view.

One who has beheld the mountains of Jamaica covered with groves of the most beautiful trees, adorned with the fairest fruits, and scented with the most fragrant odours, is apt to suppose, that no other spot in the world was equally capable of furnishing Milton with his divine descriptions.

Yet higher than their tops
 The verd'rous wall of Paradise upsprung;
 Which to our gen'ral sire gave prospect large
 Into his nether empire, neighb'ring round,
 And higher than that wall, a circling row
 Of goodliest trees, loaden with fairest fruit;
 Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,
 Appear'd, with gay enamel'd colours mix'd;
 On which the sun more glad, impress'd his beams,
 Than in fair ev'ning cloud, or humid bow,
 When God hath shower'd the earth: *so lovely seem'd*

That landscape! and of pure, now purer air
 Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
 Vernal delight and joy; able to drive
 All sadness but despair: now gentle gales
 Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
 Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
 Their balmy spoils.

The gentle eminences rounded towards the top are generally covered with groves of pimento, which is a tree equally remarkable for beauty and fragrance, and which endures no rival near it. The dark verdure of these trees is finely contrasted with the bright hue of the grass underneath, beheld through a thousand openings. The eye is also often relieved by fruit-trees of various hues, such as the orange, pine-apple, or tamarind, some of which bear at the same time, ripe fruit, unripe, and blossoms; while the delightful scene is often enlivened by murmuring rivulets, and transparent cascades. On a contemplation of these grand and beauteous objects, one can scarcely help exclaiming with the poet already quoted,

Thus was this place,
 A happy rural seat of various view:
 Groves, whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm;
 Others, whose fruit, burnish'd with golden rind
 Hung amiable, Hesperian fables true,
 If true, here only; and of delicious taste,
 Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
 Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd,
 Or palmy hillock, or the flowery lap
 Of some irriguous valley spread her store,
 Flow'rs of all hue:—
 Another side, umbrageous grots and caves
 Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine

Lays forth his purple grape, and gently creeps
 Luxuriant; meanwhile, murmuring waters fall
 Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or in a lake,
 That to the fringed bank, with myrtle crown'd,
 Her crystal mirror holds, unite these streams.

The eye almost satiated with viewing the fertile vales, and gently swelling hills, is now lifted up to those immense masses of rock piled upon each other by frequent earthquakes, till they reach the Heavens, and the awful view fills the mind with mingled sensations of horror and delight. The abrupt precipices and inaccessible cliffs, covered with impenetrable forests; the awful size of the Blue Mountains, their tops dimly seen through the fleecy cloud, fill the imagination with grand conceptions, and thrill the heart with emotions, more nearly allied to terror than joy. But the view is soon turned with delight to the rich and level savannahs, and the plains waving with cane-fields displaying in all the pride of culture and luxuriance of vegetation, the verdure of spring, blended with the mellow exuberance of autumn. The clear expanse of the boundless ocean, whose glassy surface is here and there checquered with lofty ships, ploughing the still and unresisting liquid path, and carrying the commodities of one region, to supply the wants and luxuries of another, adds to the beauty of the prospect.—All these objects taken together, present a view, which, for grandeur, variety, and beauty, can scarcely be equalled, certainly cannot be surpassed, by any other in the world.

The leading features of the landscapes of Jamaica are splendour and magnificence, which are strongly marked, not only in the rocks and mountains, but in the wood-lands and the plains. The palm, the cocoa-nut, the mountain-cabbage and the plantain, when associated, which is sometimes the case,

with the tamarind, the orange, and other trees of beautiful growth, and vivid dyes, the bushy richness of the oleander and African rose, the glowing red of the scarlet cordium, the verdant bowers of the jessamine and Grenadilla vine, the tufted plumes of the lilac, the silver white and silky leaves of the portlandia, together with a prodigious variety of minor fruits and lowly shrubs, form a wonderful and delightful embroidery of colours. The young log-wood sets make beautiful fences; the bastard cedar-trees that are dotted over the pastures afford a pleasing shade; the lime-bushes have a chearful appearance; the intervals between the cane-pieces break; in some measure, the formality of their growth; the plantation-buildings have a marked and a pleasing effect; the houses upon the penns (or farms,) and those stuck here and there upon the smaller settlements, contribute their assistance to the rural scenery; while the dark and lowly huts of the negroes huddled together in the form of a town, with their picturesque appearance, render the scene still more delightful by the various clumps of trees which irregularly surround them; along with the numerous flocks of cattle, sheep, or goats, that browse upon the plains, or frolic upon the hills,—all together form a scene, which, in other climates, would excite the genius of the artist, the curiosity of the naturalist, and the astonishment and delight of every beholder.

The wild scenery of Scotland and Wales, the mountainous parts of France and Italy, and the tremendous elevations and gloomy vallies of Switzerland, may surpass many scenes of Jamaica in the grand and terrible; but during a storm in this island, with all its accompaniments of clouds, of winds, of rain, of lightning, of thunder, and of torrents, nothing can possibly be conceived more romantic or more awful. The mind is elevated far above the grovelling pursuits of this transitory life,

and, ascending to the world of spirits, delights in scenes of inexpressible happiness. The thunder-storms are truly grand. The incessant darting of the lightning, the constant roaring of the thunder, that seems to shake, to the very centre, every thing around, and, in an apparently clear sky, frequently bursts with a sudden and horrible crash; and which, when discharged, the echoes take up, and cause to mutter, and die away among the hills; the rains that pour down in torrents; the trees that bend, or break, beneath the blast; the herds and flocks that look around with anxiety, and present their backs to receive the deluge:—all these images of the terrible or the descriptive are often to be seen in the rainy months of the transatlantic winter. At the commencement of a storm, the grandeur of the clouds that accumulate and roll in heavy masses, that shake the summits of the forests as they move along, that seem to threaten the earth with an immediate deluge; and then, as it were, for a time, suspend their darkened progress, and at length dispart; and after a few sullen drops, withdraw their terrors, and insensibly die away amidst the mountains, and permit the sun to glitter on the plains, the skies to brighten with various hues, and to assume, at the dispersion of the vapours, the representation in the clouds of various images, obvious, pleasing, and sublime;—are circumstances inexpressibly grand, which not even Milton himself could have adequately described.

The morning in Jamaica is delightfully picturesque. The breeze not having yet arisen, the air is still, yet pure; the sky and the ocean are clear and serene; the loftiest mountain-tops, shining in blue æther, are distinctly beheld; the sharp canoe is observed flying through the glassy wave; the thrifty Negroe, crowned with a load of fruits, slowly descends the steep ascent, and silently moves on, to sell his beauteous cargo at the neigh-

bouring town; the shrill sound of the distant shell echoing among the hills, and calling the sable labourers to the field, is distinctly heard; the simple notes of the busy sailor, gladly preparing to sail to distant climes, strike the ravished ear; the cooing dove with tender importunity, and eloquence resistless, salutes his lovely mate, and charms the silent hearer; meantime the sun, quick springing from the east, and shedding his glorious influence over all, recalls from death-like sleep, shrubs, trees, birds, beasts, and men. The zephyrs soon awake, and gently moving the unresisting wave, come slowly to relieve exhausted man. To him no music half so sweet, as that, which shakes the shrubs, and sighs among the trees.

To sketch all the scenes of Jamaica which are remarkable for grandeur, sublimity, beauty, richness and variety, would be a Herculean task, with which volumes might be filled. The man who can behold them unmoved, is deprived of one of the most exquisite enjoyments, which can possibly be felt. I would anxiously shun such a man. "My soul, come not thou into his secret; unto his assembly, mine honour, be not thou united."

The night-scenes, if not equally grand, are scarcely less delightful. The moon illumines the earth with brightest beams; no cloud obscures the sky; no breathing zephyr moves; a death-like silence reigns, save when the melodious, though monotonous, humming bird, chaunts his mournful song. But when the land-wind slowly descends from the mountains, both the eye and the ear are delighted with the verdant tops of the bamboo-cane, which bends with reluctant timidity before the wind, and submits its picturesque and lovely plumes to the soft intrusions of the breeze; the gentle rustling of the tall grass; the plaintive whispers of the sugar-cane, the plantain and the palm; while the smell is lusciously regaled with the

odours which the zephyrs, gently violent, rife from the perfumed blossoms of the coffee, the shaddock, the orange, and the lime, from the double tuberose, the Spanish and Arabian jessamine, and numberless other shrubs of inexpressible fragrance; while, to add to the beauty and variety of the scene, the contented Negroe, enjoying himself after the fatigues of the day, and sitting in the door of his hut, thrums his two-stringed instrument, from which, eliciting rude harmony, he draws delight, and oft with notes untutored, swelling the simple chorus, sheds o'er his wearied soul, a calm delight.—A scene more capable than this, of shedding a calm joy over the mind, and of inspiring a sweetly soothing melancholy, can scarcely be imagined. And if there is a man who cannot be affected with a scene; if his rough soul remain untuned by harmony; if, instead of casting into a generous oblivion, the cares of a transitory world, he continue calculating the miserable profits of a cask, a hogshead, or a bale, God preserve *me* from that man's feelings, his enjoyments, his company.

This very imperfect sketch of the scenes of Jamaica, with the beauty of which the writer of it was very warmly impressed, cannot be more properly concluded, than in the words of a Caledonian bard, who had carefully observed, and deeply felt, the beauteous scenes of the new world.

What though no bird of song here charms the sense
 With her wild minstrelsy; far, far beyond
 Th' unnatural quaverings of Hesperian throats!
 Though the chaste Poets of the vernal woods,
 That shun rude folly's din, delight not here
 The listening eye; and though no herald lark
 Here leave his couch, high-towering, to descry
 Th' approach of dawn, and hail her with his song.

Yet not unmusical the tinkling lapse
 Of yon, cool, argent rill, which Phœbus gilds
 With his first orient rays; yet musical
 Those buxom airs, that through the plantains play,
 And tear, with wantonness, their leafy scrolls;
 Yet not unmusical the wave's hoarse sound,
 That dashes sullen on the distant shore;
 Yet musical those little insects' hum,
 That hover round us, and to reason's ear,
 Deep, moral truths convey; while every beam
 Flings on them transient tints, which vary when
 They wave their purple plumes; yet musical
 The love-lorn cooing of the mountain-dove,
 That wooes to pleasing thoughtfulness, the soul;
 But chief the breeze, that murmurs through yon canes,
 Enchants the ear with tuneable delight.

GRAINGER.

CHAPTER II.

*Topographical Description.—Towns, Villages, and Parishes.—
Churches, Church-Livings, and Vestries.—Courts of Judicature.
—Public Offices.—Government and Laws.*

THE island of Jamaica is divided into three counties, Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. The county of Middlesex is divided into eight parishes, which contain one town, and thirteen villages. The town is called St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish-town, which, being the residence of the governor, is accounted the capital of the island. It contains an elegant palace, occupied by the governor; and here also, the meetings of the legislature, the court of chancery, and the supreme court of judicature, are uniformly held. Spanish-town is delightfully situated in a plain, on the banks of the river Cobre; but as the river is not navigable, the town has but little trade. It is situated about six miles from the sea, and contains between five and six hundred houses, and nearly five thousand inhabitants, including Negroes and free people of colour. The names of the parishes which the county contains, are, St. Catharine, St. Dorothy, St. John, St. Thomas in the Vale, Clarendon, Vere, St. Mary, and St. Ann.

The parish of St. Catharine, besides Spanish-town, contains two villages, called Passage-fort, and Port Henderson. The former lies at the distance of six miles from Spanish-town, and contains only a few houses. On account of its situation, however, it is a considerable shipping-place for the parishes of St. Catharine,

St. John, and St. Thomas in the Vale. Port Henderson is situated about three miles from Passage-fort.—St. Dorothy contains the village of Old Harbour, consisting of about thirty houses. This is the harbour where the Spaniards formerly moored their galleons; and as it is safe and commodious, several ships take in their cargoes here for Great Britain.—The parish of Clarendon contains the villages of Cross and Chapel. At the former, the parish-church is situated; and at the latter, there is a chapel of ease, which gives name to it.—The parish of Vere contains the village of Carlisle Bay, which received its name from the Earl of Carlisle, formerly governor of the island. The memorable invasion of the year 1694, took place here, and M. Du Casse, after landing his troops, was defeated by an inferior force of the militia, and obliged to re-embark with considerable loss.—The parish of St. Mary contains the villages of Port Maria, Rio Nuevo, and Salt Gut, which, the harbours being very commodious places for shipping, are chiefly inhabited by wharfingers, and shopkeepers.—The parish of St. Ann contains a village of the same name, consisting of about forty houses, straggling along the bay*; which is an excellent harbour for shipping, being defended by a reef of rocks, which stretches almost across its entrance. The villages of Laughlands and Run-away-bay are so small, as scarcely to deserve the name.—This county contains one million three hundred and five thousand two hundred and thirty-five acres of land, of which there are three hundred and twenty-three sugar plantations, which produce annually about thirty thousand hogsheads. There are besides nine hundred and twenty-two other settlements of various kinds, and eighty thousand cattle.

See Note (g.)

The county of Surry contains seven parishes, in which, there are two towns, and ten villages. The chief of these, is the town and parish of Kingston, which was founded in the year 1693, after Port Royal had been destroyed by the dreadful earthquake of the preceding year. It is situated on the north side of a large, commodious, and beautiful bay, and slopes upwards to the hills, with a very gentle ascent. It extends a mile from north to south, and nearly two miles from east to west. It is very regularly built, and contains a number of spacious streets. The wharves, stores, and houses, are large and commodious; and many of the merchants' dwellings in the upper end of the town, are spacious and elegant, and may vie in point of magnificence, with those of any capital in Europe. Kingston is a place of great trade; and as there are always numbers of vessels here from the united states of America, from St. Domingo, Cuba, and the Spanish main, besides those from Great Britain and Ireland, it may justly be deemed the capital of the West India islands. It contains above three thousand houses, besides Negro-huts, and warehouses. The number of white inhabitants is about eight thousand five hundred; of free people of colour, three thousand five hundred; and of slaves, about eighteen thousand; amounting, in all, to thirty thousand souls. This being the county-town, assizes are regularly held here; and though it is situated almost wholly on a plain, and is undoubtedly one of the hottest spots in the island, yet it has been ascertained, that, since the lands in the neighbourhood have been cleared, the place is not more unhealthy, nor the mortality greater, than in towns which possess an equal population in Europe. It is admirably situated for commerce; and its large and numerous store-houses contain great quantities of all the articles of trade and manufacture, produced in the united kingdoms of Great

Britain and Ireland. The markets are also regularly and abundantly supplied with all the necessities of life, such as butcher's meat, turtle, various kinds of fish, poultry, fruits, and vegetables. In the year 1801, an act was passed, establishing a corporation and a regular police in the town of Kingston; a measure which was much wanted, and which cannot fail to be attended with the most beneficial consequences.

Port Royal, once the richest and most important town in the West India islands, is now reduced to three streets, and a few lanes, which contain about two hundred houses. There are also in this place, the royal navy-yard, for heaving down, and refitting King's ships; the navy hospital, and barracks for a regiment of soldiers. Its chief trade consists in supplying the officers and crews of ships who land there, with ship's stores, food, and cloathing.—St. David's contains the village of Yallah's bay, consisting of only a few scattered houses near the church.—In the parish of St. Thomas in the East, the village of Bath is situated in the neighbourhood of a spring, the salubrious qualities of which are very highly commended. Here are also the villages of Port Morant, and Morant bay, the latter of which is a considerable place on account of its shipping.—The parish of Portland contains the village of Port Antonio, the harbour of which is one of the most commodious and secure in the island.—The parish of St. George contains Annotto-bay, a shipping place; and a Negro-town, called Charles-town.—This county contains six hundred and seventy-two thousand six hundred and sixteen acres, three hundred and fifty sugar-works, five hundred and forty other settlements, and eight hundred thousand cattle.

The county of Cornwall contains five parishes, the names of which are St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, Hanover, St. James,

and Trelawney, in which are situated two towns, and eight villages. In the parish of St. Elizabeth are situated the town of Lacovia, and the village of Black River. In Lacovia, the quarter sessions are held; and Black River has a very excellent bay for shipping.—The parish of Westmoreland contains the town of Savannah-la-Mar, where the assize courts are held for the county.—In the parish of Hanover lies Lucea, one of the most secure harbours in the world.—In the parish of St. James, Montego-bay, a very flourishing and opulent town, is situated. It contains six hundred white inhabitants, and consists of about two hundred and fifty houses, nearly fifty of which are capital stores or warehouses. A very considerable commerce is here carried on, both with Great Britain, and her remaining colonies in North America. The harbour is capacious; but the shipping often suffer great damage from the strong north-winds, which, at certain times of the year, blow with great violence. The number of top-sail vessels which clear annually from this port, is about one hundred and fifty, one half of which are capital ships.—The parish of Trelawney contains Falmouth and Martha-brae, which are both very flourishing. Falmouth, or, as it is sometimes called, *The Point*, is situated on the south-side of Martha-brae harbour, and, including the adjoining villages of Martha-brae and the Rock, is composed of about two hundred and fifty houses.—This county contains one million five hundred and twenty-two thousand one hundred and forty-nine acres, three hundred and eighty-eight sugar-plantations, five hundred and sixty-one other settlements, and eighty thousand cattle; and produces seventy thousand hogsheads of sugar.

Each parish in the island (or precinct, consisting of an union of one or more parishes) is governed by a chief magistrate, called *custos rotulorum*, and a body of justices, unlimited in

number, by whom sessions of the peace are held every three months, and courts of common pleas, to try every action arising within the parish or precinct to any amount, not exceeding twenty pounds. In matters of debt, not exceeding the same sum, a single justice is authorized to determine.

The whole twenty parishes contain eighteen churches and chapels, and each parish is provided with a rector and other church-officers. The rector's livings, the presentation to which proceeds from the governor of the island, amount to four hundred and twenty pounds per annum*, exclusive of the usual annual sums allowed by law, as a compensation for burials in the church. These sums are paid in lieu of tythes, by the church-wardens of the several parishes respectively, from their amount of taxes, levied by the vestries on the inhabitants.

Each parish builds and repairs a parsonage-house, or allows the rector fifty pounds *per annum*, in place of one; besides which, several of the livings have glebe-lands of considerable value annexed to them, as, for instance, the parish of St. Andrew, the living of which is worth one thousand pounds sterling *per annum*.—The bishop of London formerly claimed this island, as part of his diocese; but his jurisdiction has been uniformly rejected by the colonists; for the governor of the island not only acts as supreme head of the provincial church by inducting into the several rectories, on the requisite testimonials being produced by the candidate, that he has been admitted into priest's orders, according to the canons of the church of England, but he is likewise invested *ab officio*, with the power of suspending a clergyman of a lewd and disorderly life, upon application from his parishioners. A suspension

* See Note (h.)

ab officio is in fact a suspension *a beneficio*; no clergyman, unless prevented by sickness, being entitled to his stipend for any longer time, than he shall actually officiate. In the year 1800, the management of the affairs of the church, as far as the behaviour of the clergy is interested, was committed to the care of five clergymen of the island.

The vestries are composed of the *custos*, and two other magistrates, the rector and ten vestrymen, the latter being annually elected by the inhabitants. Besides their power of assessing, and appropriating taxes, they appoint way-wardens, and allot labourers for the repair of the public roads. They also nominate proper persons, called *collecting* constables, for the collection both of the public and parochial taxes.

Such is the ecclesiastical constitution of this island. The form of civil government is similar to that of the English constitution: The governor having nearly the same powers as the king, the council those of the lords, and the house of assembly those of the commons of England. The governor of Jamaica is appointed by the crown of England, and can be recalled at pleasure.—The council is also generally appointed by the crown; and the members of it, twelve in number, are chosen from among the most intelligent and respectable inhabitants in the island. In ceremonies, they have precedence, next to the governor, and are addressed by the title of *honourable*. They are also *ex officio* justices of the peace throughout the island, and form a privy council to the governor; but his proceedings, though contrary to their advice, are held valid in the island. And on the death, or during the absence of the governor, the eldest member of the council succeeds to the office, with the title of *president of the island*.

The house of assembly consists of forty-three members, who are chosen by the freeholders. Every parish sends two mem-

bers, and those of Spanish-town, Kingston, and Port Royal, send three. The qualifications of the electors are, that they shall be white, of full age, and possess a freehold of ten pounds *per annum*, in the parish where the election is made: The qualification of the representative is, that he shall possess a freehold of three hundred pounds *per annum* in any part of the island, or a personal estate of three thousand pounds. In their proceedings, the house of assembly copy after, as much as circumstances will permit, that admirable model, the English house of commons; and all their bills (those of a private nature excepted) have the force of laws, as soon as the governor's consent is obtained. The power of rejection, however, is still possessed by the crown; but until the royal disapprobation is signified, the laws remain completely valid.

The laws thus passed, relate chiefly to regulations of local policy, to which the law of England is not applicable; as for instance, the slave-trade; on which, and in other cases, the English laws being silent, the colonial legislature has made, and continues to make, such regulations as the exigencies of the colony require; and on some occasions, where the principle of the English law has been adopted, it has been found necessary to alter and modify its provisions, so as to adapt them to circumstances and situation. Thus, not only in cases respecting slaves, but in the practice of fine and recovery, the case of insolvent debtors, the repair of the public roads, and the maintenance of the clergy, very great deviations from the practice of the mother country, have not only been found convenient, but indispensably requisite.

The evidence of a slave is not admissible in a court of justice, against a white person. And, though by a very old law of the island, slaves are considered as inheritance, and are accordingly subject to the incidents of real property (for as they

go to the heir, so may the widow have dower, and the surviving husband be tenant by courtesy; and this holds equally whether slaves are possessed in gross, or belong to a plantation) yet in respect of debts, slaves are considered as chattels, and the executor is bound to inventory them like other chattels. This law, in many instances, certainly bears hard on those Creole Negroes, who are in consequence of sales, which often happen, for ever removed from those estates where they were born and reared, are torn from their homes, and cruelly severed from parents, brothers, wives, and children*.

The same objection cannot be made to the law of insolvency in Jamaica, which is infinitely superior to that of England, as it tends essentially to advance the interests of the community, and relieves a degraded and unfortunate class of men, from the most intolerable hardships. The laws of England have often, and perhaps not altogether without justice, been complained of, as too sanguinary; but surely no law was ever more unjust, than that which condemns a man to perpetual imprisonment, for being unable to discharge his debts. In all such cases, it ought to be remembered, that the creditor, though disappointed, was not deceived; that he knew there was a possibility of his never receiving payment; and there is not a doubt, but he charged a profit on the articles sold, according to the risk. He knew, that in the course of his dealings, he must meet with some losses, and consequently for the purpose of indemnifying himself, charged a greater profit on all the articles which he sold. And because a man is, owing to imprudence and misfortune, (the latter is more frequently the cause,) unable to pay the debts which he has contracted, is it

* For an account of the present law of Jamaica respecting the treatment of slaves, see Appendix, No. 3.

just, is it reasonable, is it good policy, that this unfortunate individual, already deprived of all respectability in society, should be debarred from every opportunity of discharging his debts, should be prevented from making any useful exertion, and rendered, for life, a burden upon society? This law, as at present existing in England, loudly calls for amendment or repeal; since it is equally contrary to good policy, to justice, and to humanity.

The following is a sketch of the law of insolvency of Jamaica. A debtor may, after three months of actual confinement, obtain his liberty on the following conditions. Three weeks previous to the next sitting of the supreme court, he is to give notice by public advertisement, that he means to take the benefit of the act; and for that purpose, has lodged all his books of account, in the hands of the marshal, or keeper of the gaol, for the inspection of his creditors. He shall then, on the first day of term, be brought by petition before the court, where he is to deliver in and subscribe a schedule of his whole estate and effects, and submit, if any one of his creditors require it, to a *viva voce* examination upon oath, in open court. To this schedule he must annex an affidavit, certifying, that it contains a just account of all his property, debts, and effects, except clothing, bedding, and working-tools, not worth more than ten pounds; that he has given no preference to any particular creditor, for three months previous to his confinement, nor conveyed away, nor concealed any part of his estate or effects. The court, therefore, being satisfied with the prisoner's examination, shall appoint one or more of the creditors to be assignees for the benefit of the whole, and order him or them possession of the prisoner's property and effects, and discharge the party from confinement. Gaol-fees of those who are unable to pay them, are paid by the public. There

are various wise regulations for the prevention of fraud; and it is declared, that if any persons, obtaining the benefit of the act shall knowingly forswear themselves, and be, in consequence, convicted of perjury, they shall be guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer death accordingly. It was also formerly provided, that no debtor should have the benefit of the act more than once; and that the future estate and effects of persons discharged under it, (excepting their apparel,) shall still be liable to make up the former deficiency. By a subsequent law, however, proposed by Bryan Edwards, the intelligent historian of the West Indies, a debtor may be discharged a second time on the same conditions, provided he had fully paid his former creditors, before his second insolvency; and even if he has not paid the debts, on account of which he formerly took the benefit of the act, he shall be discharged *after an actual confinement of two years*; the court being satisfied, that he has fairly surrendered all his estate and effects to his creditors. There are many other laws of a local nature, which are honourably distinguished by their liberality, good sense, and humanity, qualities of which the planters of this island are undoubtedly possessed, and for which they justly deserve to be respected.

The governor of Jamaica, who has the title of excellency, is appointed by letters patent under the great seal of England. He possesses very extensive authority. He commands the land forces, when no general officer of the staff is in Jamaica, and has vice-admiralty jurisdiction, and grants letters of marque. He commissions officers of the militia, appoints the judges, and, with the concurrence of five of the council, can suspend them. He nominates and supersedes the custodes of parishes, justices of the peace, and other civil officers. He has also, where the crown does not dispose of them, the disposal of civil employ-

ments. The governor inducts clergymen, qualified conformably to the canons of the church, to all church livings and benefices; and, in certain cases of absence, or notorious misconduct, supersedes rectors. He grants letters of administration, licences for schools and for marriages. In cases of forfeiture or penalty, incurred by the breach of any act relative to trade or revenue, he has concurrent jurisdiction with the courts of record, and may, without the intervention of a jury, decide all questions both of law and of fact.

The governor is also chancellor *ex officio*, and presides solely in that high department, which is administered with great solemnity. He is the sole ordinary for the probate of wills, and for granting letters of administration. From the first of these offices, he derives considerable authority, and from the latter, great emolument. He presides in the court of errors and appeals; but from his decision, an appeal may be made to his majesty in council, if the property disputed amount to three hundred pounds: and from his judgments in equity, a similar appeal may be made. He may reprieve criminals convicted of treason and murder, and extend his majesty's gracious pardon to all other convicted criminals. He can suspend members of the council, and supply their vacant seats. He has authority, with advice of council, to convoke the house of assembly, and appoint the place where the members are to meet. When met, the governor has a negative voice, which may be applied to every legislative ordinance proposed. He can, at will, prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the assembly. From a consideration of the extensive powers of which the governor of Jamaica is possessed, it is evident, that his authority and influence, in this colony, are very great, and perhaps greater than those, with which the king of England is by its constitution invested.

The annual salary allowed by the house of assembly to the governor, amounts to five thousand pounds current money of the island. Besides this sum, his excellency receives fees in chancery, and the court of ordinary, together with various other perquisites, to the amount of four thousand pounds currency. These sums amount to six thousand four hundred and twenty-eight pounds eleven shillings and five-pence one-eighth sterling; but it is not improbable, that, considering every perquisite and every advantage which the governor enjoys, his office is not worth less than nine thousand pounds sterling *per annum*.

The supreme court of judicature for the whole island, commonly called the grand court, possessing similar jurisdiction to that of the several courts of king's bench, common pleas, and exchequer, in England, is held in Spanish-town, the capital of the county of Middlesex and of the island, on the last Tuesday of each of the months of February, May, and November, in every year. In this court, the chief justice of the island presides, whose salary and perquisites amount to about three thousand pounds *per annum*. The assistant judges are generally planters of eminence, or other gentlemen of the island, who afford their services gratuitously. There judges must be present, before a court can be constituted; and each term is limited in duration to three weeks. From this court, if the matter in dispute be a civil action for a sum of three hundred pounds or upwards, an appeal lies to the governor and council, as a court of error: If sentence of death be passed for felony, the appeal can only be made to the governor.

By a law made in the year 1681, freeholders of known residence are not subject to arrest, or to being held to bail in civil process. The mode of proceeding is, to deliver the party a summons, (leaving it at his house, is deemed good service)

together with a copy of the declaration, fourteen days before the meeting of court; whereupon the defendant is bound to appear, the very next court; and if he do not, judgment will pass by default. Twenty-eight days after the first day of each court, execution issues, for which there is but one writ, comprehending both a *fiery facias* and a *capias ad satisfaciendum*; but as no general imparlance is allowed before judgment, it is enacted, that the effects levied on, shall remain in the defendant's hands, until the next court, to give him an opportunity of disposing of them to the best advantage; and if he then fail to pay over the money, a *venditioni exponas* issues to the marshal, to sell those or any other goods, or to take the debtor's person. The modern practice is to make no levy on the execution, whereby the debtor obtains the indulgence of at least one term, or court, after which, both his person and goods are liable under the writ of *venditioni exponas*.

Assize courts are held every three months in Kingston for the county of Surry, and in Savannah-la-Mar for the county of Cornwall. The Surry-court commences its sittings on the last Tuesdays in January, April, July, and October. The Cornwall court opens on the last Tuesdays of March, June, September, and December: The duration of each assize court is limited to a fortnight. Thus have the inhabitants law-courts in almost every month of the year; besides the courts of chancery, ordinary, admiralty, and the several parish courts. The judges of the assize court act without salary or reward, as well as the assistant judges of the supreme court, any one of whom, if present, presides in the assize court. No appeal from the latter to the former is allowed; and judgments of the assize court immediately following the supreme court, are considered as of one and the same court, and have an equal right in point of priority, with those obtained in the grand court.

As appendages of the supreme court, two great offices, those of the office of enrolments, and of the clerk of the supreme court, are held in Spanish-town. The first is an office of record, in which the laws passed by the legislature are preserved, and copies of them entered into fair volumes. In this office, all deeds, wills, sales, and patents, must be registered. It is likewise required, that all persons, after six weeks residence, who intend to depart from the island, do affix their names in this office twenty-one days before they are entitled to receive a ticket, or let-pass, which enables them to leave the country. In order to enforce this regulation, masters of vessels are obliged at the time of entry, to give security in the sum of one thousand pounds, not to carry from off the island, any person without such ticket. Trustees, attornies, and guardians of orphans are required to record annually in this office, accounts of the produce of estates in their charge, and by an act of assembly, mortgagees in possession are obliged to register, not only accounts of the crops of each year, but also annual accounts current of their receipts and disbursements. Transcripts of deeds, &c. from this office, properly certified, are evidences in any court of law; and all debts must be enrolled three months after date, or they are declared to be void, as against any other debt proved and registered within the time limited, but if no second debt be on record, then the former are valid, though registered after three months. It is presumed, that the profits of this office, which is held by patent from the crown, and the duties of which are exercised by deputation, exceed six thousand pounds sterling *per annum*.

The office of clerk of the supreme court is likewise held by patent, and exercised by deputation. Evidence was given to the house of assembly a considerable number of years ago,

that its annual value exceeded nine thousand pounds current money of the island.

The provost-marshal general is an officer of high rank, and of great authority. The name denotes a military origin, and the office was, no doubt, first instituted in this island, before the introduction of civil government, and was probably afterwards continued through necessity. It is now held by patent from the crown, and is usually granted for two lives; the patentee is also permitted to act by deputy, who is usually—the highest bidder. The powers and authorities annexed to this office are various: The acting-officer is, in fact, high-sheriff of the whole island, during his continuance in office; and he is empowered to nominate deputies under him, for every particular precinct. It appears from the returns of his office, published by the house of assembly in the month of November 1792, that, in the course of the preceding year, two thousand one hundred and eighty-one executions were lodged in it; and, that during the twenty years immediately prior to 1788, eighty thousand and twenty-one executions, amounting to twenty-two million five hundred and sixty-three thousand seven hundred and eighty-six pounds sterling, had likewise been lodged in his office. His legal receipts have been known to exceed seven thousand pounds sterling *per annum*; and it is supposed, that some of his deputies make nearly as much*.

Of the other great lucrative offices, the chief are those of the register in chancery, the receiver general, the treasurer of the island, the naval officer, and collector of the customs for the port of Kingston. All these commissions, whether held by patent, or commission, formerly afforded considerable emolu-

* See Note (i.)

ment to persons resident in Great Britain. Not less than thirty thousand pounds sterling *per annum* are remitted by deputies to their principals in the mother country. This conduct has certainly been, with great reason, complained of by the resident inhabitants, as almost all the patent offices in Jamaica, as well as the other colonies, are exercised by deputies, who, notoriously and avowedly, obtain their appointments by purchase. Leases for years of some of them have even been sold by auction; and nothing is more common at the expiration of those leases, than the circumstance of an inferior clerk outbidding his employer, the resident deputy, and stepping into his place. But by a wise law, which passed during the administration of that excellent man, and great statesman, the late Marquis of Landsdowne, at that time Earl of Shelburne, this grievance will, for the future, be in a great measure prevented. For, it is enacted, by the 22d of George the 3d, c. 75, that
 “ from henceforth, no office to be exercised in the plantations,
 “ shall be granted by patent, for any longer term, than during
 “ such time, as the grantee thereof shall discharge the duty
 “ *in person.*”

CHAPTER III.

Trade.—Revenue.—Taxes.—Coins.—Militia.

THE trade of Jamaica has been a great source of opulence to the mother country. When the island was conquered by the English troops, the Spaniards were nearly in a state of barbarism. They cultivated no more of the soil, than what was necessary for their subsistence; and their whole trade consisted in selling a few cocoas, and in supplying with fresh provisions, the ships of their own nation, who happened to touch there. But their conquerors being reared during a great political revolution, a season when all the energies of the mind are effectually brought into action, displayed uncommon activity and resolution. Their trade being arms, and their habits purely military, they were disgusted at the idea of, and were but little calculated to succeed in, the pursuits of agriculture and commerce. They therefore fitted out privateers against the Spaniards, and displayed a courage and perseverance, truly remarkable. The wealth which they procured from the seizure of Spanish ships, and their invasions of the Spanish territories, was with great rapidity, circulated through Jamaica, and from thence conveyed to England. An impulse was given to trade, which, though acting sometimes with a greater, sometimes with a lesser force, has never lost its influence, and has always been equally advantageous to the colonists, and the mother country.

After peace was concluded betwixt the English and Spanish

courts, the Buccaniers were discouraged by the government of Jamaica, and were obliged to turn their attention to the advantages of commerce, or the culture of the soil. The former being probably more congenial to the dispositions of adventurous and unsettled men than the latter, trade rapidly increased, while the progress of cultivation was extremely slow. Their trade consisted chiefly in an illicit intercourse with the Spanish settlements; a measure, which, though less detrimental to the interests of individuals, than the invasions of the Buccaniers, equally lessened the power and influence of the Spanish crown, and encouraged the industry, advanced the wealth, and increased the manufactures of the English nation. Spaniards being totally incapable of supplying the numerous wants of their rich colonists, no restrictions could prevent them from supplying themselves with the articles which they required. And notwithstanding the most severe restrictions of the Spanish government, so extensive was this contraband trade towards the end of the 17th century, that it annually employed no less than four thousand tons of English shipping, and disposed of English manufactures to the amount of one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling. It was in vain, that the Spanish government confiscated the English vessels, and treated their crews as pirates.—A trade, which was equally beneficial to, and desired by, both parties, could not possibly be prevented. The Spaniards even ran all the risks of capture and condemnation, by fitting out vessels which were sent to Jamaica, where they procured the commodities which were required: and in this manner was carried on the contraband trade, which was so necessary to their comfortable existence. The articles with which the Spaniards were chiefly supplied were, African Negroes, silks, cloth, quicksilver, and various articles of English manufacture. In return, they gave nothing but bullion, except

a few horned cattle, mules, and horses, which are absolutely necessary in Jamaica, for the purposes of agriculture. The bare mention of these facts is sufficient to point out the advantageous nature of this extraordinary traffic, which has been, for a century and a half, a source of opulence to Jamaica. However, this trade, though still existing, has for many years been much upon the decline. Since the year 1748, the Spanish court has behaved with greater liberality to its colonies, and has acted towards their inhabitants, upon principles of a more enlightened policy. The contraband trade, nevertheless, continued considerable till the year 1764, when the English ministry, with great imprudence, almost totally suppressed it, by an affected regard for the celebrated law, called the navigation act; they ordered all foreign vessels, found in the ports of the English West India colonies, to be seized and confiscated, without discrimination. A more effectual measure for the suppression of the Spanish contraband trade, could not possibly have been devised. The consequence was such, as might easily have been foreseen. The Spanish traffic was almost annihilated, and the exports from Great Britain to Jamaica alone, for the year 1765, were deficient of what they had been, in the year 1763, in the sum of one hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds sterling.

A wiser administration endeavoured to rectify the blunders of their predecessors, by giving orders for the admission of Spanish vessels as formerly; but the Spanish government, learning wisdom from experience, immediately counteracted this effort, by laying open to every province in Spain the trade to the islands of Trinidad, Porto Rico, Hispaniola, and Cuba; and by permitting goods of all kinds to be sent thither, on the payment of moderate duties. This measure certainly lessened the temptation on the part of the Spaniards, to renew this illicit commerce; but such is the superiority, both in point of execu-

tion and price of the British manufactures, that it is probable the trade would again have revived, had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence, which had been strangely overlooked. The English ministers, in opening the chief ports of Jamaica and Dominica to all foreign vessels of a certain burden, ordered the collectors of the customs at the several free ports, to keep regular accounts of the entry of all foreign vessels, of the names of their commanders, and of the quantity of bullion which they imported. These accounts having been transmitted to the commissioners of the customs in England, copies of them were clandestinely procured by the court of Spain, the consequence of which was, that many of the individuals concerned in the exportation of bullion to the English islands were punished with all that cruel severity, for which the Spanish government has long been remarkable. " This intelligence I received (says " Mr. Edwards) from a very respectable English merchant, " who produced to me a letter from Carthagena, containing a " recital of the fact, accompanied with many shocking circum- " stances of unrelenting cruelty, on the part of the Spanish go- " vernment. Information of this fact being transmitted to the " British ministry, the former instructions were revoked, but " the remedy came too late ;—for what else could be expected, " than that the Spaniards would naturally shun all intercourse " with a people, whom neither the safety of their friends, nor " their own evident interest, was sufficient to engage to confi- " dence and secrecy." This trade, therefore, which is now very much reduced, is carried on by small vessels from Jamaica, which escape the observation of the Spanish governors, and by small Spanish vessels of a certain tonnage, which are received in certain ports of Jamaica.

But the decay of this trade being gradual, was not very severely felt. The planters of Jamaica soon became sensible of

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the advantages afforded by the heat of the climate, and the fruitfulness of the soil. They turned their attention to the culture of the sugar-cane, the most valuable, though not the most useful, of all plants; and their success has been such, as far to exceed their most sanguine expectations. Rum and melasses, which are produced from the very dregs of this wonderful vegetable, also form valuable articles of commerce, and have tended not a little to enrich the cultivators. Coffee has likewise been cultivated with great assiduity by the planters of this island; and, next to the sugar-cane, is the most valuable and the most profitable production of Jamaica. There are, besides, several other commodities cultivated, such as cotton, cocoa, indigo, ginger, and pimento, which, though not so valuable as the former articles, are yet considerable enough, to be enumerated among the exports of this rich and thriving colony.

A considerable trade in logwood was formerly carried on betwixt some English settlers on the peninsula of Yucatan, in the bay of Campeachy. But being driven from thence by the jealousy of the Spaniards, they retreated to the bay of Honduras, where they formed a settlement, and built a fort. This trade is now, compared with what it formerly was, extremely insignificant. The settlement of Honduras was formerly considered as a dependency of the island of Jamaica; but, by an act of parliament passed in the year 1790, the inhabitants were allowed the same advantages in their exports and imports, with any other British colony.

A considerable trade has also, for several years, been carried on with the United States of America. This traffic is certainly more advantageous to the colonists, than to the mother country. Indeed, it is actually contrary to the interests of the latter, while, to the former, it seems to be in a great measure necessary. It is carried on in direct contradiction to both the spirit

and letter of the navigation act, which has been one of the principal sources of the naval superiority of England. It increases the wealth, by advancing the commerce, encouraging the industry, and enlarging the naval power of the Americans. These considerations led the English ministers effectually to exclude American ships from the ports of Jamaica, after the termination of that unhappy contest, called the American war. This exclusion proved extremely detrimental to the colonists, as the cargoes of the American ships chiefly consisted of articles necessary to their subsistence, with which they could not be supplied in sufficient quantities, by the mother country. The prohibition of this traffic was therefore, for several years, a source of alarm, discontent, and danger to the colonists. During the space of seven years previous to the year 1787, no less than five hurricanes had desolated the fairest and most productive portions of the island; and to add to their distress, a great drought succeeded, and destroyed such of the provisions as had been planted in the years 1785 and 1786, to supply the want of their cargoes, from the continent of North America. And so great was their distress, that the house of assembly made a representation to the British government on the subject, in which they stated, that within the space of seven years, no fewer than fifteen thousand Negroes had perished by famine, or by disease, contracted in consequence of a scanty and unwholesome diet. This commerce, however, has been since suffered to continue; the governors of the various islands issuing a proclamation, by which the trade is permitted during a certain specified period, a measure which is extremely advantageous, and, indeed, in some degree, necessary to the colonists. The articles imported by the Americans consist chiefly of corn, rice, flour, deals, staves, and shingles. In return, the Americans generally take a certain quantity of rum, or some other production of the

island, and the rest is paid in gold coin, or dollars. But this commerce, now for a considerable number of years carried on, and highly advantageous to both parties, has been (1806) rendered legal by an act of the British parliament, subject, however, to a discretionary power vested in his Majesty's privy council.* Respecting the policy of an act of this nature, it is not at present our business to inquire; but there cannot remain a doubt, that it will prove extremely advantageous to the colonists of this island, and will be equally agreeable to them, and to the Americans.

The following statement will enable us to form an estimate of the gradual progress of the island, in wealth and cultivation.

In the year 1673, the chief productions of Jamaica were cocoa, indigo, and hides. The cultivation of sugar had just commenced.

In the Year	Hhds.	
1722	11,000	were exported.
1739	33,155	
1744	35,761	
1768	55,000	
1774	78,304	
1790	105,400	
1802	140,000†	

The legislators of Jamaica being too independent, both in their fortunes and dispositions, to be exposed to the influence of corruption, have uniformly displayed the most laudable

* See Note (k.)

† Those who wish for more particular information respecting the nature and amount of the exports and imports of Jamaica, are referred to the accurate tables of Mr. Edwards, in his history of the West Indies.—See also Note (l.)

economy in their management of the public revenue. But this spirit of prudence has been by no means accompanied, with what are too frequently its attendants, meanness or parsimony: They have, as has been already mentioned, supplied the governor with a very handsome salary; and they have provided in the most ample manner, for all the other public servants of the colony.

The revenues of the island are perpetual and annual*. The former were instituted by the revenue law passed in the year 1788, the origin of which has been already noticed: The latter are occasional grants of the legislature. The perpetual revenue law raises about twelve thousand pounds *per annum*, of which eight thousand pounds is particularly appropriated as formerly mentioned, and the surplus is applied, in addition to the annual funds, to defray the necessary expences of the government.

The public debt of the island, though from various causes lately considerably increased, is so small as scarcely to deserve notice, and the wisdom of the legislators prevents them from increasing it. The taxes are neither numerous, weighty, nor oppressive. The chief of them are, a duty on Negroes imported; an excise on rum, and other articles consumed within the island; a pecuniary penalty incurred by every owner of an estate, for each white person deficient of the number required by law; a poll tax on slaves and stock; and a certain rate on rents, and on wheel carriages. Occasional taxes are also laid on by the legislature, as exigencies require.

A considerable portion of the revenue is exhausted by the extra allowances given to those regular British troops, which are stationed in the island; and when they exceed three thou-

* See Note (m.)

said in number; it is usual for the legislature to provide wholly for the surplus. Yet such is the economy of the legislators; such the prudence with which the taxes are appointed and levied, so lightly are these burdens felt by the inhabitants, or such are their good sense, and their confidence in the honesty and wisdom of the legislators, that complaints are never heard of the weight and inequality of their taxes.

The current coins of this island, are, Portugal pieces of gold, called half johannes, each valued at two pounds fifteen shillings currency; Spanish gold coins, called doubloons, at five pounds five shillings, and pistoles, at one pound six shillings and eight-pence. The silver coins are, Spanish milled dollars, valued at six shillings and eight-pence, which are divided into various parts, forming separate Spanish coins, halves, three shillings and four-pence; quarters, one shilling and eight-pence; eighths, ten-pence; and sixteenths, five-pence currency. There is also a small silver coin, called a *bitt*, the value of which is seven-pence halfpenny currency. An English guinea passes for one pound twelve shillings and six-pence, which is considerably higher than the usual rate of exchange. One hundred pounds sterling amounts to one hundred and forty pounds currency*. But owing to various causes, in time of war, the rate of exchange is seldom at par; five, ten, and even fifteen per cent. being often paid in Jamaica, for good bills on London.

From the geographical situation, and the nature of the population of Jamaica, it is obvious, that the establishment of a militia must be a measure of the highest importance, and the most urgent necessity. Accordingly, all white males from the age of fifteen to that of sixty years, are obliged by law to provide themselves with their own accoutrements, and to enlist

* See Note (n.)

either in the cavalry or infantry. In times of apprehended danger, either from foreign invasion, or from domestic revolt, the commander in chief, with the advice and consent of a general council of war, in which the members of assembly have votes, may proclaim martial law. His power is then arbitrary; all persons being subject to the articles of war.

The habits of this militia are certainly but little calculated to produce a complete military subordination. Men accustomed to be looked upon as a superior race of beings to slaves, submit with reluctance, if they submit at all, to be treated, as if they enjoyed no will of their own. And though it is a fact, that the subordination is by no means complete, yet, on all occasions of real danger, no troops in the world have behaved with greater spirit or courage, than the militia of Jamaica.—The total number of inhabitants able to carry arms, including free Negroes and Mulattoes, will amount to about ten thousand; while the whole population of whites does not exceed thirty thousand. The free Negroes and people of colour amount to about ten thousand; and of slaves, there are at least two hundred and sixty thousand. The population of the island of Jamaica, therefore, amounts on a moderate calculation, to three hundred thousand souls.

CHAPTER IV.

Commercial Productions, viz. Sugar, Rum, Melasses,—Coffee,—Cocoa,—Cotton,—Indigo,—Pimento,—Ginger. Their History, Description, Value, and Mode of Cultivation.

THE sugar-cane, the *canis saccharifera* of Linnaeus is the most valuable of all vegetables, and is the chief source of the opulence of the West India colonists. It is a native of the east, and has been cultivated in India and Arabia from the earliest ages. At what time, the inhabitants of these regions discovered the art of granulating its juice by evaporation, is not now known; but it appears probable, that sugar was conveyed to Europe by the navigation of the Red Sea, at a very early period. Whether this plant be a native of the West Indies is a question of some doubt; which it would be difficult to determine. Some writers are of opinion, that it was conveyed thither by Christopher Columbus from Old Spain, or the Canary Islands; whilst others contend, with equal, if not greater probability, that it grew spontaneously in various islands of the new world. But this being merely a question of curiosity, which cannot possibly lead to any practical purpose, does not seem to merit a minute investigation.

The sugar-cane is a jointed reed, terminating in leaves or blades, the edges of which are finely and sharply serrated. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane varies, according to the nature of the soil; but it is, in general, from one to three inches in length, and from half an inch, to an inch

in diameter. The body of the cane is strong, but brittle; and it is, when ripe, of a fine straw colour, nearly yellow. It contains a soft, pithy substance, which affords a copious supply of juice, equally sweet, nutritious, and agreeable. The length of the whole cane depends upon various circumstances. In strong lands richly manured, it sometimes measures twelve feet from the stole to the upper joint. The general height however, exclusive of the flag part, is from three feet and a half to seven feet, and in very rich lands, the stole or root has been known to put forth upwards of one hundred suckers, or shoots.

No soil can be too rich for the production of this plant. The ashy loam soil of the island of St. Christopher's, is supposed to be the best in the world; for the production of the finest and the greatest quantity of sugar. Next to that, is the soil, which in Jamaica is called *brick mould*; not as resembling a brick in colour, but as containing such a dry mixture of clay and sand, as is supposed to render the brick well adapted for the use of the kiln. It is a deep, warm, mellow, hazle earth, easily worked; and though its surface soon grows dry after rain, the under-stratum still retains a considerable degree of moisture in the driest weather. This soil has also another advantage, that even in the warmest season, it seldom requires trenching. Plant-canes in this soil, especially when of the first growth, sometimes, in favourable seasons, yield no less than two tons and a half of sugar *per* acre.

There is a particular kind of soil in the north side of the island of Jamaica, chiefly in the parish of Trelawney, of a red colour; the shades of it however vary considerably from a deep chocolate, to a rich scarlet: In some places, it approaches to a bright yellow; but it is everywhere remarkable, when first turned up, for a glossy, and shining surface, and which, if wetted, stains the fingers like paint. It consists of a pure

loam, with a mixture of clay and sand. It is a deep, light soil, and is so tenacious, that a pond dug in the earth in a proper situation, with no other bottom than its own natural texture, will hold water like the stiffest clay. It is remarkable, however, that the same degree of ploughing or of pulverization, which is absolutely necessary to render stiff and clayey lands productive, is here not only unnecessary, but hurtful; for though this soil is deep, it is at the same time, far from being heavy; and besides, it is naturally dry. As therefore, too much exposure to the scorching influence of a tropical sun, destroys its fertility, the system of husbandry on sugar-plantations, in which this soil abounds, depends chiefly on what are called *ratoon canes*. Ratoons are the sprouts or suckers that spring from the stoles of the canes that have been previously cut for sugar, and are commonly ripe in twelve months. Plant-canes are the immediate produce of the original plants or stems placed in the ground, which require from fifteen to seventeen months to bring them to maturity. The first yearly returns from their roots are called *first ratoons*; the second yearly growth, *second ratoons*; and so on, according to their ages. Ratoons yield a less quantity of sugar than the parent canes, but as they require far less culture, the one crop is supposed to be as profitable to the planter as the other. The common average produce of annual ratoon canes is seven hogsheads of sugar, from every ten acres.

But a new species of sugar-cane, far more valuable than that formerly in use, has lately been introduced into Jamaica. It had been imported into the French islands of Guadaloupe and Martinique from the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, situated in the Indian ocean, and is called the Bourbon, or Otaheité cane. This new cane is now very generally cultivated in Jamaica, and is distinguished

by its superior size. It is much higher, and four times as large, as that which was formerly employed. It yields one third part more sugar than the old cane, the grain and colour of the former, being generally superior to those of the latter. Another advantage which the new cane enjoys, is, that its juice is much easier cleaned, in consequence of which, a separation of the sediment and mucilaginous scum is more quickly procured, by a due proportion of white lime. Several other varieties of this invaluable plant have also been lately introduced into this island, such as, the ribbon, the green striped, the violet, the transparent, the Batavian or purple, canes; but being all of them, much inferior to the Bourbon, are little cultivated, and are rather retained as objects of curiosity than use.

The earth is prepared for receiving the plants, either by the plough, or by manual labour. Though the former method, by relieving the Negroes from a great deal of hard labour, is certainly preferable, yet, from the nature of the soil, the inequality of surface, and various other causes, the plough is far from being in general use. The usual method of hoeing is described by Mr. Edwards in the following manner. “ The
 “ quantity of land intended to be planted, being cleared of
 “ weeds and other incumbrances, is first divided into several
 “ plats of certain dimensions, commonly from fifteen to twenty
 “ acres each; the spaces between each plat or subdivision are
 “ left wide enough for roads, for the conveniency of carting,
 “ and are called *intervals*. Each plat is then subdivided by
 “ means of a line and wooden pegs, into small squares, of about
 “ three feet and a half. Sometimes, indeed, the squares are
 “ a foot larger; but this circumstance makes but little difference. The Negroes are then placed in a row in the first
 “ line, one to a square, and directed to dig out with their hoes,
 “ the several squares, commonly to the depth of five or six

“ inches. The mould which is dug up, being formed into a
 “ bank at the lower side, the excavation or cane-hole seldom
 “ exceeds fifteen inches in width at the bottom, and two feet
 “ and a half at the top. The Negroes then fall back to the
 “ next line, and proceed as before. Thus the several squares
 “ between each line are formed into a trench of much the
 “ same dimensions, with that which is made by the plough.
 “ An able Negro will dig from sixty to eighty of these holes
 “ for his day's work of ten hours; but if the land has been
 “ previously ploughed, and lain fallow, the same Negro will
 “ dig nearly double the same number in the same time.

“ The cane-holes or trench being now completed, whether
 “ by the plough or by the hoe, and the cuttings selected for
 “ planting, which are commonly the tops of the canes that
 “ have been ground for sugar, (each containing five or six
 “ gems) two of them are sufficient for a cane-hole of the
 “ dimensions described: These being placed longitudinally in
 “ the bottom of the hole, are covered with mould about two
 “ inches deep; the rest of the bank being intended for future
 “ use. In twelve or fourteen days, the young sprouts begin
 “ to appear; and, as soon as they rise a few inches above the
 “ ground, they are, or ought to be, carefully cleared of
 “ weeds, and furnished with an addition of mould from the
 “ banks. This is usually performed by the hand. At the end
 “ of four or five months, the banks are wholly levelled, and
 “ the spaces between the rows carefully hoe-ploughed. Fre-
 “ quent cleanings, while the canes are young, are indeed so
 “ essentially necessary, that no other merit in an overseer, can
 “ compensate for the want of attention in this particular.—
 “ A careful manager will remove at the same time, all the
 “ lateral shoots or suckers that spring up, after the canes begin

"to joint, as they seldom come to maturity, and draw
"nourishment from the original plants."

The best season for planting canes is from the month of August, to the end of October. They have, by this means, the advantage of the copious autumnal rains, after which, the young canes have become sufficiently luxuriant to shade the ground, keep their roots cool, and the earth moist, during the fierce blazing of the tropical summer. These are ripe, when the dry weather fairly sets in, early in the second year. The canes begin now to lose their freshness, and the planter anxiously prepares to cut them. For this purpose, the strongest of the Negroes are employed; and as fast as the canes are cut, they are thrown aside in different rows. Another gang of sable labourers collects them into bundles, and ties them with cane-bands together, that they may be convenient to load, and be in readiness for the mules, or wains, by which they are carried to the mill.

The mills are either wrought by water, wind, or cattle. This machine consists principally, of three upright, iron plate rollers, or cylinders, from thirty to forty inches in length, and from twenty to twenty-five inches in diameter. The middle cylinder to which the moving power is applied, turns the other two by means of cogs. Between these rollers, the canes are twice compressed; for, having passed through the first and second rollers, they are turned round the middle one, by a circular piece of frame work, or screen, called the *dumb-returner*, and forced back again through the second and third; an operation, which extracting all the juice, squeezes the canes completely dry. The cane-juice thus expressed, is first received into a leaden vessel, and from thence conveyed into another, called the receiver: The juice from the receiver runs along a wooden gutter lined with lead, by means of which it

is conveyed to the *boiling-house*, where it is received into a clarifying cauldron, of which there are commonly three. These vary in size, according to the extent of the plantation; and some of them are so large, as to contain one thousand gallons. Each clarifier is provided with either a syphon or cock to draw off the liquor. It has a flat bottom, and is hung to a separate fire, each chimney having an iron slider, which being shut, the fire goes out for want of air.

The cane-juice being always liable to rapid fermentation, as soon as the clarifier is filled with liquor from the receiver, the fire is lighted, and the *temper*, which is generally Bristol *white lime* in powder, is immediately stirred into it. The intention of this is, to neutralize by means of the alkali of the lime, the superabundant acid of the liquor, which is the great difficulty in the making of sugar. The quantity necessary for this purpose must necessarily vary, both according to the quality of the lime, and the cane-juice. One half pint of Bristol lime, dissolved in hot water, is commonly sufficient for one hundred gallons of liquor. As the fire increases in force, and the liquor becomes hot, a scum is thrown up, which is formed of the mucilage or gummy matter of the cane, with some of the oil, and such impurities as the mucilage is capable of entangling. The heat is now suffered gradually to increase, until it rises to within a few degrees of the heat of boiling water. The liquor is not suffered to boil; for as soon as the scum begins to rise into blisters, and break into white froth, the damper is applied, and the fire extinguished. The liquor is now suffered to remain for about an hour undisturbed; during which time, the greater part of the impurities attracting each other, rise to the scum, and float upon the top. The liquor is now carefully drawn off, during which, the scum sinks down unbroken to the bottom. The liquor is now

received into a gutter or channel, which conveys it to the evaporating boiler, commonly called the *grand copper*, in which it is again made to boil, while the remaining scum being taken off as it rises, the quantity is considerably reduced by skimming and evaporation, and becomes more viscid. This labour is continued until the liquor is sufficiently reduced in quantity, to be contained in the next or second copper, into which it is then ladled. The liquor is now nearly of the colour of Madeira wine. In the second copper, the boiling and skimming are continued; and if the liquor is not yet so clean as it was expected to be, lime-water is thrown into it. This addition is intended not merely to give more temper, but also to dilute the liquor, which sometimes thickens too fast to permit the feculencies to run together, and rise in the scum. Liquor is said to have a good appearance in the second copper, when the froth in boiling rises in large bubbles, and is but little discoloured. When after such skimming and evaporation, the liquor is again sufficiently reduced to be contained in the third copper, it is ladled into it, and so into the last copper, which is called the *teache*. This arrangement supposes four boilers or coppers, besides the three clarifiers.

In the *teache*, the subject is finally boiled, till on trial of its fitness for granulation, it may be removed from the fire. This operation is called *striking*; that is, ladling the liquor, now exceedingly thick, into the *cooler*. This is a shallow wooden vessel of about eleven inches in depth, seven feet in length, and from five to seven feet wide. A cooler of this size contains a hogshead of sugar. Here the sugar grains; i. e. as it cools, it runs into a coarse irregular mass of imperfect semi-formed crystals, separating itself from the melasses. From the cooler, it is conveyed to the curing-house, where the melasses drain from it.

The curing-house is a large airy building, provided with a capacious melasses-cistern, the sides of which are sloped and lined with *terras*, or boards. Over this cistern, there is a frame of massy joist-work without boarding. On the joists of this frame, empty hogsheads, without headings, are ranged. In the bottoms of these hogsheads, eight or ten holes are bored, through each of which is thrust the stalk of a plantain leaf, six or eight inches below the joists, and is long enough to stand upright above the top of the hogshead. Into the hogsheads, the mass from the cooler is put, which is called *potting*; and the melasses drain through the springy stalk, and drop into the cistern, from whence they are immediately taken for distillation. The sugar in about three weeks, becomes tolerably dry and fair. It is then cured, and the process is finished.

Sugar prepared in this manner is called *muscovado*, and is the raw material from whence the European sugar-bakers chiefly make their loaf, or refined lump sugar. Another kind, called *clayed* sugar, is prepared by a process somewhat different, in which a greater quantity of melasses being drawn off, the sugar is consequently made whiter and purer. But as the difference of quality does not remunerate the planter for the diminution of quantity, occasioned by this process, it is far from being generally adopted in Jamaica.

RUM, one of the most salutary spirits in the world, is also an important product of this invaluable plant. The *still-houses*, as they are called, for which the production of rum is carried on, are generally built of stone, and are equal in size to both the boiling and curing-houses. Large cisterns, containing from one to three thousand gallons, are made use of, in proportion to the size of the plantation; and as the process of distillation is the same with that so universally (perhaps too universally) employed, and consequently well known in Europe, it will not be necessary to

enter into a particular detail on the subject. The materials employed for this spirit are, the melasses, or treacle, drained from the sugar; scummings of the hot cane-juice from the boiling-house, or raw cane-liquor, from canes expressed for the purpose; lees, or as it is called in Jamaica, *dunder*; and water. The employment of *dunder* in the making of rum, answers the purpose of yeast in the fermentation of flour. It consists of the lees or feculencies of former distillations, and some few planters preserve it for use, from one crop to another; but this is, in the opinion of Bryan Edwards, a man well able, both from experience and judgment, to form a correct estimate of the subject, a very bad practice. Some fermented liquor, therefore, composed of sweets and water alone, ought to be distilled in the first instance, that fresh *dunder* may be obtained.

To work the stills and worms, it is necessary to have a cistern for *dunder*, another for scummings, and a number of fermenting vats or cisterns, each equal to the contents of the largest still. In Jamaica, cisterns are made of plank, fixed in clay, which are universally preferred to vats, or moveable vessels, for the purpose of fermenting. In the British distilleries, these fermenting cisterns are unknown. They are not so easily affected by the changes of the weather, are less liable to leak, and last much longer than vats. The ingredients used for procuring rum have been already enumerated: these being well mixed in the fermenting cisterns, and having become cool, the fermentation commences in twenty-four hours to a proper height for a charge of melasses, when three gallons for every hundred gallons of the fermenting liquor are added to it, and a similar charge is given in a day or two after, when the liquor is in a high state of fermentation; but the heat should never be suffered to exceed from 90° to 94° of Fahren-

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heit's scale. When the fermentation falls by easy degrees from the fifth to the seventh day, so as then to grow fine, and throw up a few clear beads, or air-globules, it is fit for distillation, and conveyed into the largest still, where it is made to boil. In about two hours, the vapour or spirit being condensed by the ambient fluid, forces its way through the worm in a stream, as clear as crystal, which is suffered to flow, until it is no longer inflammable. The spirits thus obtained are denominated *low wines*; and to make it rum of the Jamaica proof, it must undergo a second distillation. The proportion of rum to the crop of sugar, is commonly estimated in Jamaica, as three to four; but this is perhaps too great an allowance in a general estimate; two hundred gallons of rum to three hundred hogsheads of sugar, being probably nearer the truth.

+ *Punchons*

In the year 1796, Dr. Higgins, an eminent chemist, visited Jamaica, and proposed several important improvements in the preparation of sugar, and the distillation of rum. His discoveries, according to the memorial presented by him to the house of assembly, tended to make sugar whiter, purer, and consequently more valuable; to render rum, more pure, grateful and salubrious; to prevent the loss sustained by the drainage of melasses; and to apply the fuel employed, in a more effectual and economical manner. The doctor remained several years in the island, and with great assiduity, communicated his valuable improvements to the planters. The house of assembly, with their usual discernment and liberality, rewarded the learned gentleman, for his useful and patriotic exertions.

The melasses produced during the preparation of the sugar is also exported, and employed for various purposes in Europe. Even the green tops of that wonderful vegetable, the sugarcane, are highly useful, as the labouring horses, oxen, and mules, though almost constantly at work during crop-time,

generally fatten, and improve more, than at any other season of the year. It is also observed, that the most meagre and sickly among the Negroes, after drinking plentifully of the juice of the cane, when the mill is set a-going, exhibit in a very short time, a surprising alteration. So that not only is every part of this invaluable plant a source of wealth to the proprietor, but it also affords a grateful and nutritious beverage to man, restores to health the sickly Negro, and furnishes an ample supply of food for the lower animals. From these considerations, it is evident, that the sugar-cane is the most valuable of all vegetables*.

* It is but proper here to state, that by far the greater part of the facts mentioned in this chapter, are taken from Mr. Edwards's observations on the subject, as, on an accurate investigation, he was found to be, beyond comparison, the safest authority.

SECTION II.

COFFEE.

THE coffee tree is equally with the cane, a native of the east, and is now very extensively and successfully cultivated in Jamaica. The coffee of this island is generally esteemed inferior to that of Mocha; but it seems more probable, that this inferiority proceeds rather from the greenness of its age, and the manner in which it is prepared, than from any actual inferiority in the plant. The Arabian coffee is generally reared in a very dry climate, and flourishes most on a sandy soil, or on mountainous slopes, which give an easy conveyance to the rains. Similar situations are generally chosen by the Jamaica planter. Coffee, indeed, will thrive in every soil in this island; a cold and stiff clay, and a shallow mould on a hot marle, excepted. But the best and most highly flavoured fruit, is unquestionably the growth of either a warm, gravelly mould, a sandy loam, or the dry red, which abound in Jamaica. Frequent showers of rain, are, however, friendly to its growth; but if water remain long about the roots, the tree will certainly decay and perish.

Where the land is fresh, coffee plants may be set out at all seasons of the year, not excepting even the driest. They will thrive in any situation, provided it be screened from the north-winds, which often destroy its blossom; indeed, they have sometimes entirely stripped the tree of both fruit and leaves, blasting, in a moment, the fairest hopes of the planter.

The usual mode of planting coffee, is, to line out the land into squares of eight feet; in other words, to sow the seeds, or set out the young plants, eight feet distant from each other on all sides, which give six hundred and eighty trees to each acre; and where young plants are easily procured, they are preferred to berries. The plants which are intended to be set out are generally of about two feet in height. They are cut off ten inches above the surface of the ground, and care is taken, to dig them up with the roots as entire as possible. The holes in which they are set, are made large enough to hold the lower part of the stem, and all the roots; and the upper fibres are buried about two inches below the surface. But though eight feet be the usual distance of setting out the plants in all soils, it is frequently found, that, in rich lands, the trees as they grow to maturity, become, from their luxuriance, so closely intermingled, as to impede the free passage of the air: In such cases, it is thought adviseable to cut down every second row, within ten or twelve inches of the ground, and by well moulding the stumps, they will furnish a succession of healthy young trees, while the rows which are left, will bear much better for the room which is given to them. Old plantations, (or *walks*, as they are called) cut down in this manner, and not dug up and replanted, will give a tolerable crop the second year; and the operation may be frequently repeated.

In the cultivation of a young walk, the general and the most approved system is, to keep the trees perfectly free from suckers, and to rear only one stem from one root. If, therefore, a healthy shoot spring near the ground, all the original plant is cut off close above it, by which means, when the plant is moulded, the root becomes well covered. At the height of five or six feet, which the plants generally attain during the third year, the trees are topped. At this height, a single stem

produces from thirty-six to forty-two bearing branches; and the pruning required annually, is to leave nothing but these branches.

The produce of the coffee-tree varies in quantity and in value, according to the nature of the soil and climate, the age of the plant, and the mode of preparing it. When the trees are raised from young plants, no produce is procured until the third year; in which, indeed, they produce very little. During the fourth year, in lands of a middling richness, seven hundred pounds weight *per* acre are produced. The average annual produce after this period, if the walk be properly cultivated, will amount to seven hundred pounds; and one Negro is sufficiently able to take care of an acre and a half.

When the berries of the coffee-tree acquire a blackish red colour, they are supposed to be sufficiently ripe for picking. The Negroes employed for this purpose, are each provided with a canvass bag, with a hoop in the mouth of it to keep it open. This bag is hung about the neck of the picker, who empties it, as often as it is full, into a basket. The usual practice is, to pick the trees at three different stages of their ripeness. One hundred bushels in the pulp, fresh from the tree, produce about one thousand pounds weight of merchantable coffee.

There are two methods employed for drying or curing the coffee-bean. The first is, to spread out the fresh coffee in the sun, in layers of about five inches in depth, on a sloping *terras*, or platform of boards, with the pulp on the berry; which, in a few days, ferments and discharges itself in a strong, acridulous moisture; and the coffee is left in this state, until it is perfectly dry; which, when the weather is favourable, takes place in about three weeks. The husks are afterwards separated from the seeds by a grinding-mill, constructed for the

purpose; or they are pounded with pestles in troughs, or large wooden mortars. Coffee cured in this manner, weighs four pounds *per cwt.* heavier, than if cured without the pulp.

The other method of curing the coffee-bean is, to remove the pulp immediately, when it comes from the tree. This is effected by means of a grinding-mill, consisting of a horizontal, fluted roller, about eighteen inches long, and eight inches in diameter. This roller is turned by a crank, or handle, and acts against a moveable breast-board, which being fitted close to the grooves of the roller, prevents the berries from passing whole. The mill is fed by a sloping trough, and the aperture of the trough from which the berries drop into the mill, is regulated by a vertical sliding board. By this simple machine, a Negro will pulp a bushel in a minute. The pulp and the bean (in its parchment skin) fall promiscuously together. The whole is then washed in wire sieves, to separate the pulp from the seeds; and these are immediately spread open to the sun to dry. There is another method of airing the coffee by stoves; but this method requiring an extensive apparatus, and imparting, in some degree, a disagreeable taste and smell to the berry, is seldom employed. It is, perhaps, difficult to determine, which of the two former methods of curing the coffee-bean, is to be preferred. The first generally produces the best flavoured coffee; but the second method, being more expeditious, and consequently more profitable, is most frequently employed.

Coffee is now much cultivated in Jamaica, and forms no inconsiderable portion of its political strength, as well as of its wealth and commerce. Coffee-plantations are generally situated in the hilly regions, of which nearly two thirds of the island consist, and which are from their nature and situation, unfit for sugar-plantations. They are also more conducive to

sobriety and industry, and consequently tend more to the increase of the whites, than any other of the staple commodities of the island. Small capitals can also be employed in the cultivation of this commodity; while the average profits are more considerable in proportion to the capital employed; and the produce of it is more equal and certain, than that which arises from the cultivation of any plant in the new world.

SECTION III.

COTTON.

COTTON is also a staple commodity of Jamaica. This valuable vegetable wool grows spontaneously in all the tropical regions of Asia, Africa, and America, and affords to man an agreeable and a healthful covering. The cotton-wool which is manufactured into cloth, consists of two distinct kinds, called by the planter, green-seed cotton, and shrub-cotton. The former, on account of the difficulty of separating the wool from the seed, which can only be done by the hand, is so troublesome and expensive, that it is seldom cultivated, and little attended to. The shrub-cotton is in appearance not unlike an European Corinthian bush, and may be divided into several varieties, all of which, however, nearly resemble each other. The flowers are composed of five large yellow leaves, each stained at the bottom with a purple spot. They are beautiful, but devoid of fragrance. The pistil is strong and large, surrounded at and near the top, with a yellow farinaceous dust, which, when ripe, falls into the matrix of the pistil. This is likewise surrounded, when the petals of the flower drop, with a capsular pod, supported by three triangular green leaves, deeply jagged at their ends. The inclosed opens, when ripe, into three or four partitions, discovering the cotton in as many white locks, as there are partitions in the pod. In the locks are interspersed the seeds, which are commonly small and black.

The mode of culture is the same with all the species of this plant; and there is this advantage in all of them, that they will flourish in the driest and most rocky soils, provided such lands have not been exhausted by former cultivation. Dryness both of the soil and atmosphere is indeed essentially necessary in all its stages; for if the land be moist, the plant expends itself in branches and leaves; and if the rains are heavy, either when the plant is in blossom, or when the pods are beginning to unfold, the crop is lost.

The plant is raised from the seed, the land requiring no other preparation, than to be cleared of its native incumbrances. The season for putting the seed in the ground is from May to September, both months inclusive. This is usually done in ranks or rows, leaving a space between each of six or eight feet, the holes in each row being commonly four feet apart. Eight or ten seeds are put into each hole, as some of them are often devoured by a grub, or worm, and others rot in the ground. The young sprouts make their appearance in about a fortnight after planting; but they are of a slow growth for the first six weeks; at which period, it is necessary to clean the ground, and draw the supernumerary plants, leaving two or three of the strongest only in each hole. One plant would be sufficient to leave, if there were a certainty of its coming to maturity, but many of the tender sprouts are devoured by the grub. At the age of three or four months, the plants are cleaned a second time, and both the stem and branches pruned; or, as it is called *topped*; an inch, or more, if the plants are luxuriant, being broken off from the end of each shoot; which is done, in order to make the stems throw out a greater number of lateral branches. This operation, if the growth be over-luxuriant, is sometimes performed a second, and even a third time.

At the end of five months, the plant begins to blossom, and put forth its beautiful yellow flowers, and, in two months more, the pod is formed. From the seventh to the tenth month, the pods ripen in succession; when they burst open in three partitions, displaying their white and glossy down. The wool is now gathered, the seeds being enveloped in it, from which, they are afterwards separated by a machine, somewhat resembling a turner's lathe. It is called a *gin*, and is composed of two small rollers, placed close and parallel to each other in a frame, and turned in opposite directions, by different wheels, which are moved by the feet. The cotton being put by the hand, close to these rollers, as they move round, readily passes between them, leaving behind the seeds, which are too large for the interspace. The wool is afterwards hand-picked, that it may be properly cleaned of decayed leaves, broken seeds, and wool that has been stained and damaged in the pod. It is then packed into bags, containing about two hundred pounds weight each, and in this state, is sent to market.

The profits arising from the culture of this plant are, upon an average, considerable; but they are precarious. The planter is frequently deceived in his expectations. In the first stage of its cultivation, it is attacked by the grub; it is devoured by caterpillars in the second; it is sometimes withered by the blast; and rains frequently destroy it, both in the blossom and the pod.

Plantations of cotton ought to be encouraged both by Jamaica and the mother country, not only on account of the great demand for this raw material in the British manufactures, but as they necessarily produce an increased proportion of white settlers, the only source (it cannot be too often repeated) of political security to the island; and as they increase the numbers of men, possessed of small independant fortunes, the most valuable class of individuals in every society.

SECTION IV.

INDIGO.

THE plant which yields the valuable commodity called *indigo*, springs spontaneously in all the West India islands. Although it grows in the most barren spots, yet a rich and warm season accelerates its growth, and renders it more luxuriant. The following is the mode of its cultivation. The land being properly cleared, is hoed into small trenches of two or three inches in depth, and twelve or fourteen inches asunder; in the bottom of which the seeds are strewed by the hand, and covered lightly with mould; but as the plants shoot, the field must be frequently weeded, and kept constantly clean, until they rise, and spread sufficiently to cover the ground. A bushel of seed is sufficient for four or five acres of land. The best season for planting indigo is the month of March. In Jamaica, the planters have frequently four cuttings in the year, from the same roots. But it is a curious fact, that the planter is obliged to change the soil every year, on account of a grub, which becomes a fly, and preys on the leaves, and never fails to blast the crop of the second year, upon the same lands. In new lands, the annual produce of this plant in Jamaica, will amount to three hundred pounds weight *per* acre of the second quality.

The process for obtaining the dye is generally conducted in two cisterns, which are placed like two steps, the one ascending to the other. The highest, which is also the longest, is called

the *steeper*, and is about sixteen feet square, and two feet and a half in depth. There is an aperture in the bottom of this cistern, through which the fluid passes into the second, which is called the *battery*, and is about twelve feet square, and four and a half deep. Cisterns of these dimensions are used for about seven acres of the plant; but if stone-work cannot easily be erected for want of materials, vats of strong timber, well secured from leakage, answer the same purpose.

The plants, when ripe, are cut with sickles, a few inches above the root, and then placed by *strata* in the *steeper*, until it is about three parts full. They are then strongly pressed down by boards and planks, which are wedged or loaded, to prevent the plants from buoying up; and as much water is admitted as the wood will imbibe, until it is covered four or five inches deep; and in this state it is left to ferment, until the pulp is extracted; but the utmost attention and the nicest management are now required; for, if the fluid be drawn off too soon, much of the pulp is left behind; and if the fermentation be too long continued, the tender tops of the weeds occasion putrefaction, in consequence of which, all the dye is destroyed.

To obtain an accurate knowledge, therefore, of the proper degree of fermentation, has hitherto been the grand *desideratum* of the cultivator; as, on this knowledge, the whole success of the culture of indigo depends. Various methods have been employed for this purpose; the most useful of which seems to be that of judging of the proper degree of fermentation, by means of the colour and smell of the liquor contained in the *steeper*. The tincture, after being properly fermented in the *steeper*, is discharged into the *battery*, and is there agitated and churned, until the dye begin to granulate, or float in little flakes on the water. This was formerly done in Jamaica,

with the hand, by means of paddles; but far more convenient machines are now constructed, in which the levers are worked by a cog-wheel, and kept in motion by a horse or mule. When the fluid has, by such means, been well churned for the space of fifteen or twenty minutes, and being tried in a cup or plate, appears curdled, or coagulated, a strong impregnation of *lime water* is gradually added, not only to promote a separation, but likewise to fix the colour, and preserve it from putrefaction. "But the planters," Dr. Brown observes, "must carefully distinguish the different stages of this part of the operation, and also attentively examine the appearance and colour, as the work advances, for the grain passes gradually from a greenish to a fine purple, which is the proper colour when the liquor is sufficiently worked; too small a degree of agitation leaving the indigo green and coarse, while too vigorous an action brings it to be almost black."

The liquor being properly and sufficiently worked, and the pulp granulated, it is left undisturbed, until the flakes settle at the bottom, when the incumbent water is drawn off, and the indigo distributed into small linen bags to drain, after which, it is carefully put into little square boxes, or moulds, and suffered to dry gradually in the shade. In this manner is the manufacture finished.

When we consider the nature of this plant, which suits itself to every soil, and from which four cuttings are produced in the year; if we further take into account, the high value of, and the great demand for, the commodity; if we calculate the cheapness of the buildings, apparatus, and labour, required for its production, and the consequent smallness of capital necessary for its commencement, we will not be surprised at the accounts of the splendour and opulence of the first indigo planters. Allowing the produce of an acre to be three hundred

pounds weight, and to amount to only four shillings sterling *per* pound, the gross profits of twenty acres will be twelve hundred pounds, produced by the labour of only sixteen Negroes, and on a capital of land and buildings, so comparatively small, as scarcely to deserve consideration.

Considering these facts, one would be apt to conclude, that every man of prudence and enterprize in Jamaica, would carefully attend to the cultivation of this precious plant. But whatever the causes may have been, certain it is, that many attempts to cultivate this plant have lately been made, by men possessed both of foresight and industry, not one of which has been, in the smallest degree, successful. Disappointment attended them in every stage of their progress. At one time, the fermentation was too long continued; at another, the liquor was drawn off too soon: Now the pulp was not duly granulated; and now, it was worked too much. To these inconveniences, for which practice would no doubt have found remedies, were added others of a much more important nature; the ravages of the worm, the failure of the seasons, and the mortality of the Negroes, from the vapour of the fermented liquor. Indigo, therefore, is now very little cultivated in Jamaica, and, in all probability, will never again become a staple commodity. This fact furnishes the government of the mother country with a very important lesson; and points out the impolicy and the danger of exacting exorbitant duties on the importation of any useful article.

SECTION V.

COCOA.

Cocoa, or the *chocolate-nut*, is a native of the great continent of South America, from whence it was conveyed to St. Domingo and Jamaica. This fruit was not only used by the simple native of South America for the purposes of food and nourishment, but was also employed as a circulating medium in their commerce, one hundred and fifty of the nuts being nearly of the same value with a *rial* among the Spaniards. "From this circumstance," says Mr. Edwards, with *great simplicity of heart*, "it seems probable, that if the ancient inhabitants of South America were emigrants from Europe or Asia, they must have detached themselves at an early period, before metals were converted into coins, or from some society which had made but moderate advances in civilization."—The cocoa nut still forms a considerable article of commerce among the Spaniards, who cultivate it with great success. Blome, who published a short account of Jamaica in the year 1672, informs us, that there existed at that time, about sixty cocoa walks, (or plantations,) and that many more were planting.* At present, there is not a single cocoa plantation throughout the island, on which account, it will be less necessary to describe the mode of its cultivation. A few scattered trees here and there, which still, however, add to the beauty

* See Note (o.)

of the landscape, are the sole remains of those flourishing and beauteous groves which were once the pride and boast of the country. "They have withered," says Mr. Edwards, "with the indigo-manufactory, under the heavy hand of ministerial exaction. The excise on cocoa, when made into cakes, rose to no less than twelve pounds twelve shillings *per hundred weight*, exclusive of eleven shillings and eleven-pence half-penny, paid at the custom-house, amounting to upwards of four hundred and eighty pounds *per cent.* on its marketable value." These are curious and important facts in the history of colonial legislation, and afford the most useful lessons to the cabinet of St. James's. May our rulers learn wisdom from experience!

SECTION VI.

GINGER.

GINGER was introduced into the new world by the Spaniards from the East Indies, and being very easily cultivated, was soon raised in great quantities; no less than twenty-two thousand and fifty-three *hundred weight* having been exported by them to Old Spain during the year 1547. This aromatic vegetable is distinguished into two kinds, white and black; but the difference of the two arises merely from the modes of curing them; the former being rendered fit for preservation by means of boiling water, the latter by insolation; and as it is found necessary to select the fairest and soundest roots for exposure to the sun, white is commonly one-third dearer in the market than black ginger.

In the cultivation of this root, no greater skill or care is required, than in the growing of potatoes in Great Britain, and it is planted nearly in the same manner; but it is fit for digging only once in the year, unless for the purpose of preserving it in syrup, in which case, it must be taken up at the end of three or four months, while its fibres are tender and full of sap. Ginger thus prepared, is an excellent sweetmeat, and is so well known, as to render any description of it unnecessary.

SECTION VII.

ARNATTO.

ARNATTO is an indigenous shrub, which rises to the height of seven or eight feet, producing oblong hairy pods, somewhat resembling those of a chesnut. Within these, there are generally thirty or forty irregularly figured seeds, which are enveloped in a pulp of a bright red colour, and a fragrant smell, in appearance like that sort of paint called *red lead*, when mixed up with oil; and as paint, it was used by some tribes of the Indians; in the same manner, as wood was by the ancient Britons. All the produce of this plant which is at present exported from Jamaica, is gathered from the trees which grow spontaneously. The method of extracting the pulp and preparing it for sale, is, that of boiling the seeds in clear water, till they are perfectly extricated; after which, the seeds are taken out, and the water left undisturbed, for the pulp to subside. It is then drawn off, and the sediment distributed into shallow vessels, and dried gradually in the shade.

Arnatto, thus prepared, is mixed by the Spanish Americans with their chocolate, to which it gives, in their opinion, an elegant tincture, and great medicinal virtue. They suppose, that it acts as a stomachic, and febrifuge. The principal consumption of this article depends upon painters and dyers. It is sometimes used by the Dutch farmers to give a richness of

colour to their butter; and small quantities are said to be employed in the same manner in English dairies. But this commodity is an object of no great commercial importance, and the demand for it is not sufficient, to excite much attention to its cultivation.

SECTION VIII.

PIMENTO.

PIMENTO, or *allspice*, is one of the most elegant productions in nature, rivalling the most valuable spices of the east, and containing, as it were, the flavour and properties of many of them together, while, at the same time, it forms, (as its popular name denotes) an useful and admirable substitute for them all. The pimento-trees grow spontaneously, and in great abundance in many parts of the island, but especially in the hilly regions of the north, where they form the most delightful groves which the imagination of a poet could conceive, filling the air with fragrance, and wafting the most delicious perfumes in the gale.

The pimento-tree is purely a child of nature, and seems to mock all the labours of man, in his endeavours to extend and improve its growth; not one attempt in fifty to propagate the young plants, or to raise them from the seeds, in parts of the country where it is found growing spontaneously, having succeeded. The usual method of forming a new pimento plantation (or walk) is nothing more, than to appropriate a piece of land in the neighbourhood of a plantation already existing, or in a country where the scattered trees are found in a native state, the woods of which being cut down, the trees are suffered to remain on the ground, till they become rotten and perish. In the course of twelve months, after the first season, abundance of young pimento plants will be found growing

vigorously in all parts of the land, being probably produced from ripe berries, scattered by the birds, while the fallen trees afford them shelter and shade. At the end of two years, it will be proper to give the land a thorough cleansing, leaving such only of the pimento-trees as have a good appearance. In this manner, delightful groves will soon be formed, which, except during the first four or five years, will require very little attention.

There is not, perhaps, in the whole vegetable creation, a tree of greater beauty than the young pimento. The trunk, which is of a grey colour, smooth, and shining, and altogether destitute of bark, rises to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. It then branches out on all sides, being luxuriantly clothed with leaves of a deep green, somewhat like those of the bay-tree; and these leaves are, in the months of July and August, beautifully contrasted and relieved by an exuberance of white flowers. The leaves are equally fragrant with the fruit, and yield by distillation a delicate odoriferous oil, which is said to be sometimes sold in the apothecaries' shops for oil of cloves.

Soon after the trees are in blossom, the berries become fit for gathering. The fruit must not be allowed to remain long on the tree, as the pulp in that case, becomes moist and glutinous, and is, with difficulty cured; and when dry, it becomes black and tasteless. It is impossible, however, to prevent some of the ripe berries from mixing with the rest; and when the proportion of them is considerable, the price of the commodity is necessarily lessened.

This fruit is gathered by the hand; and one labourer on the tree, employed in gathering the small branches, will give employment to three below (who are generally women and children) in picking the berries; and an industrious picker will fill a bag capable of holding twenty pounds weight in a

day. The fruit is then spread on a terrace, and exposed to the sun for about seven days, during which time, it loses its green colour, and becomes of a reddish brown; and when perfectly dry, it is fit for the market.

The returns from a pimento-walk, in a favourable season, are prodigious. A single tree has been known to yield one hundred and fifty pounds of the raw fruit, which is *one hundred weight* of the dried spice; there being commonly a loss in weight of one third in curing; but pimento, like many others of the minor productions of the new world, is exceedingly uncertain; and, perhaps a very plenteous crop occurs but once in five years. But this is also less cultivated now than formerly; the planter finding it more advantageous to turn his attention to the cultivation of sugar, for which purpose, many beautiful pimento-walks have been cut down.

Thus a concise account has been given of the appearances, nature, growth, and manufacture of those natural productions of Jamaica, which are at present the staple articles of her commerce; which, for more than a century, have been the chief sources of her opulence; which have enriched the mother country, and raised the inhabitants to an unexampled height of colonial prosperity. We shall now therefore turn our attention to the situation, treatment, manners, and disposition of the Negroes, and shall offer a few observations on the propriety of a gradual melioration of their condition;—a subject of the utmost importance to the security of the white inhabitants, the interest of the planter, the prosperity of the island, and the wealth and honour of the mother country.

CHAPTER V.

Origin of the Negro Race—Slavery in Africa—Commencement of the Slave-Trade—Consequences of it on the Morals of the Africans—Different Dispositions of various Nations of Africa, discoverable in the Conduct and Temper of the Slaves—Passions of the Negroes—Consequences of Slavery with Respect to their Dispositions—Their Benevolence—Filial Affection—Loquacity—Love of Pleasure—Various Amusements—Religious Sentiments—Superstitions—Obeah—Natural Genius and Comprehension.—Slave-Trade of England—How carried on—Slave-Ships—Situation of the Negroes at Sea—Manner of Sale at Jamaica—Treatment of the Slaves on Estates—Their Work—Food—Cloathing—Houses.—Arguments for the Slave-Trade considered—Injustice of it—Inhumanity—Impolicy—Immediate Abolition of it considered—Equally just and desirable—Consequences of it.—Employment of poor but industrious Emigrants from Scotland and Ireland proposed—Great Advantages likely to result from it.—Melioration of the Condition of the Slaves recommended—Giving them Education—A stated Quantity of Labour—Making their Evidence legal in a Court of Justice—Suffering them to acquire Property—Attention to their Morals—Discouragement of Polygamy.—Beneficial Effects of these Measures.

WHETHER Negroes are the descendants of the great parent of mankind, is a question which has been long and unsuccessfully agitated among philosophers. By some, it has been, with considerable ingenuity argued, that the change of colour

is merely a consequence of the heat of climate, exposure to the sun, and inattention to cleanliness. Whether the operation of these causes could, during a long succession of ages, change the colour of the skin, is a question, which, from the want of experience, it will be impossible ever to decide. But, when to the difference of the colour of the Negro, we add, the peculiar shape of his skull, the flatness of his nose, the uniform thickness of his lip, the size, colour, and regularity of his teeth, the appearance and quality of his hair, the nature of his skin, and the structure of his limbs, there seem to be, in the opinion of many philosophers, insurmountable difficulties in supposing, that he descended from the same parent with the northern European. But this investigation leads to no practical conclusion, and is only useful in exercising those thinking faculties of the philosopher, which, when properly directed, and usefully applied, are calculated to confer upon mankind, the most important benefits.

Slavery is peculiarly congenial, and seems even to be natural, to the inhabitants of warm climates. Man, untutored, though possessed of superior faculties to the other animals of the creation, is, like them, the slave of circumstances, and yields, without reflection, to the necessities of his situation. In tropical regions, the necessities of life are so easily procured, frequently springing spontaneously, and protection from the inclemencies of Heaven are so little required, and so easily attained, that the energies of the human mind being never excited, are suffered to remain in eternal slumber. Of this situation, sloth is a natural, almost a necessary, consequence; and, indolence being the parent of weakness, submission to injustice and violence, without murmur, reflection, or resentment, generally takes place. As no effect is ever observed without an adequate cause, the prevalence of slavery throughout

the world, but especially in tropical regions, is undoubtedly produced by some powerful and extensively operating causes, of which, those just mentioned are probably the chief.

Slavery, has, in all ages, existed in Africa. The European traffic in African slaves, which has already produced, and will certainly produce extraordinary consequences, seems first to have commenced in the year 1442 of the Christian era. Anthony Goncalves, an enterprising Portuguese navigator had, two years previous to this period, seized some Moors, near Cape Bojador, whom he was ordered by his prince to convey back to Africa. He landed them at a place called *Rio del Oro*, and received in exchange, a quantity of gold dust, and ten Negroes, with whom he returned to Lisbon. This success encouraged others to engage in a traffic so profitable; and in the year 1481, the Portuguese founded a settlement, and built a fort on the Gold Coast; and a short time afterwards, another was built at Arguin, and a third at Loango St. Paul's, on the coast of Angola. The Portuguese remained almost exclusively in possession of this trade, till the discovery of the new world by Columbus, when, in consequence of the inhuman butcheries of the inoffensive and unoffending Indians by the Spaniards, a supply of inhabitants was absolutely necessary, for the culture and preservation of their new possessions.

The origin of the African trade in slaves, to the West Indies, is attributed by some historians to a very honourable cause. According to them, the active benevolence of Las Casas, which was, in that age, a phenomenon among the Spaniards, led him to propose this traffic as a measure, which would relieve the hapless natives of the new world from that toil, to which they were totally unequal, and which tended so much to their destruction. However this may be, it is surely not uncharitable to believe, that the Spaniards were so lost to every sense of justice, and dead to every feeling of humanity,

that, had it not been for their own interests, they never would have engaged in this dreadful traffic. But from the depopulation of the new world, produced by the avarice, ambition, cruelty, and fanaticism of these pretended followers of Jesus, (their conduct how opposite to that of him, whom they affected to adore!) the African slave-trade soon became considerable; for we find, that so early as the year 1517, the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent to some Genoese merchants, to supply the Islands of St. Domingo, Jamaica, Cuba, and Porto Rico, with four thousand slaves annually. This traffic was afterwards engaged in by the French, English, and other maritime powers of Europe, and has, ever since, been constantly carried on by some, or all of these nations. And to such an extent was this trade carried on, that, in the year 1789, above seventy-four thousand slaves (besides immense numbers sent to Morocco, Barbary, Turkey, Persia and Goa, amounting, in all, to one hundred and fifty thousand) were annually imported into the West Indies, by the English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Danish.

This enormous annual supply must certainly decrease the population of Africa, as a great proportion of the Negroes exported, consists of males, and a still greater proportion of young inhabitants. These annual supplies are derived from various sources. They consist of Negroes born in slavery, condemned criminals, captives in war, and free persons, kidnapped by the villainy of the black and white agents or factors. This last class is, perhaps, of all the least considerable, and is far less numerous now, than it was at some former periods. But it cannot be denied, that in the present barbarous state of Africa, the very existence of such a trade is sufficient to excite in innumerable instances, all the hateful passions, and to produce the most bitter and frightful instances of injustice and barbarity.

Concerning the injustice and inhumanity of a traffic, which renders one man the slave of his brother, there can scarcely be two opinions; but, though this trade cannot be too severely reprobated, and ought undoubtedly to be stigmatized with the execration of all civilized nations, and abolished by every enlightened government; yet no man possessed of the smallest degree of candour will blame the planters of Jamaica, or of any other island in the West Indies, for keeping possession of slaves, which were purchased by their forefathers, under the sanction of the existing government, and which are now become the only means of their subsistence. An abolition of the African slave-trade is a measure, which, for reasons afterwards to be mentioned, is equally consonant to justice and to good policy; but an immediate emancipation of the slaves would not only be productive of the most frightful consequences, but would, in the first instance, be an act of the most flagrant injustice to their present proprietors. If this measure be ever seriously thought of, it must be attempted gradually, and executed with the utmost caution; while the first step to this great path of justice and philanthropy, must necessarily be the payment of the value of the slaves, out of the national purse, to their present masters. The slave-trade is certainly unjust, and, in the present state of the West India islands, impolitic; But let not national philanthropy commence with injustice.

The slaves imported from Africa are natives of an immense continent, extending two thousand miles from north to south, and six hundred from east to west, inhabited by various nations, differing widely from each other, not only in civilization, religion, manners and customs; but even in the size, appearance and structure of the body. Their tempers and dispositions are also extremely different, according to the situation and circumstances of the tribe or nation to which they belong.

The chief of these tribes are the Mandingoes, the Gold Coast or Koromantyns, the Eboes, the Whydahs, or Papaws, the Nagoes, the Samboes, the Congoes, and the Angolas, some of whom are Mahometans, while others are Christians, as the Cophti, and Abyssinians, or Gentiles. But the great majority of these tribes are idolators, worshipping serpents, and even reptiles, and entertain, like all uncivilized nations, very unbecoming and confused notions of the Deity. Many of these Negroes entertain their native dispositions for a considerable time after their arrival in the new world, examples of which are often seen in the contempt of danger and enterprising spirit of the Koromantyns, the effeminacy of the Congoes, the cunning of the Samboes, and the mild, but high-spirited despondency of the Eboes, which often leads them to the commission of suicide.

But after they have resided a few years in the island, their characters, from imitation, and external circumstances, are all formed in one common mould. Even the most high-spirited and courageous Negro becomes, after remaining a few years in slavery, cunning, cowardly, and in a certain degree, malevolent; and, indeed, a debasement of all the mental faculties, and the destruction of every honourable principle, seem to be the never-failing consequences of slavery*. The general disposition of the Negroes in Jamaica, therefore (but to which there

* This sentiment is beautifully expressed by the philosophic poet of the Greeks,

Ἡμεῖς γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀπαινῶμεν εὐρύστα Ζεὺς
Ἄνθρωπος, εὖτ' ἂν μὴν κατὰ δούλιον ἡμᾶρ ἔλθῃσιν.

Odyss. p. ver. 322.

“The day in which Jupiter makes Man a slave, he takes away half his virtue.”

Or, according to the eloquent paraphrase of Mr. Pope,

“Jove fixed it certain, that, whatever day
“Makes Man a slave, takes half his worth away.”

are really many exceptions) may safely be asserted to be thievish, lazy, and dissimulating. When asked a question by a white person, they seldom, if they can avoid it, give a direct answer; and whatever they can steal from *buckra*, (or white man,) is appropriated to their own use with as much coolness, and perhaps more pleasure, than if it was assigned them by law. Their laziness is not to be wondered at, when we consider, that they have no stimulus to exertion but fear; which, as it cannot always operate, produces only sudden and partial efforts, and these too, generally, under the eye of their masters.

All the passions of the Negro, both the gentle and the boisterous, are strong. From whatever causes this circumstance originates, whether from the peculiarity of his constitution, the nature of his education, or the heat of the climate, the fact is certainly curious, as, even among men the most uncivilized, a state of slavery bending the spirit, tends powerfully to root out the more violent passions. His resentment, when injured by a fellow-slave, is never gratified, unless by the sufferings or blood of his enemy. His anger, though momentary, is boisterous, and hurries him on to the most cruel and barbarous actions. When he acquires power over his fellow-slaves, he exercises it, like all petty tyrants, in the most odious manner: To use power with moderation, indeed, is only the characteristic of great minds, few of which, alas! are to be found among mankind, and fewer still among slaves. His treatment of the lower animals belonging to his master, displays the cruelty of his disposition, and evinces the most brutal and unthinking barbarity. Such is the hideous part of the portrait of this untutored savage. But on a minute investigation of his character, several shades and lines relieve the general colouring of the picture. His filial reverence and affection deserve the

Highest commendations, and are worthy of imitation; his respect for the aged is constant and unaffected; his compassion for the unfortunate is generous; his benevolence is often active; and his love is tender but ardent. His joy, like that of all unthinking men, is easily excited, and boisterous; and though sometimes oppressed, and even in this humane and enlightened age, too often cruelly treated, he frequently displays an equanimity, in suffering, equal, if not superior, to philosophic fortitude, or christian resignation.

The never-failing respect of the Negroes for old age is a trait of their character, which cannot be sufficiently admired. In addressing such of their fellow-servants as are considerably advanced in years, they always prefix to their names the appellation of *ta* and *ma*, which signify *father* and *mother*, by which appellations, they express the sentiments, not only of filial reverence, but of esteem and fondness. Nor is this regard confined to outward ceremonies; or mere terms of respect. It is founded on an active principle of native benevolence, which is the more extraordinary, as it could not from *a-priori* reasoning, have been expected from a slave. The whole body of Negroes on a plantation must be reduced to a deplorable state of wretchedness indeed, if, at any time, they suffer their aged and infirm companions, to want the common necessities of life, or, even many of its comforts. They seem to be actuated, on these occasions, by a kind of involuntary impulse, operating as a primitive law of nature, which scorns to wait the cold dictates of reason; for among them, it is the exercise of a common duty, which expects no applause, and courts no observation.

Another characteristic of the Negroes is their loquacity; a quality which is generally possessed in the greatest degree, by the most unthinking part of mankind. They are also ex-

tremely fond of making set speeches, which are generally long, and sometimes not ineloquent; but they are also generally tedious, often impertinent, and always abounding with the most disgusting egotism.

Like all rude nations, they are fond of noisy music and dancing. Their dances are generally conducted with innocent mirth and gaiety; but at their midnight festivals, they often engage in dances the most licentious and wanton. Their music is rather simple and noisy than harmonious; and indeed they seem to prefer a loud and long continued noise to the finest harmony, as they often pass the whole night in *beating on a board with a stick*. This is one of their musical instruments, besides which, they have the banja, or merriwang, the dundo, and the goombay, all of them of African origin. The banja is an imperfect kind of violoncello, which is played by the fingers, and produces only a simple monotony of four notes.

But it is impossible to hear this music, and remain unaffected with the dismal melody produced by the Negro, who, sitting in the door of his cabin, enjoying the coolness, and delighting in the stillness of evening, accompanies it with a melancholy song, expressive of his feelings. The melody, simple as it is, touches the heart, and cannot fail to draw tears from the affectionate, the melancholy, or the contemplative.

The dundo is merely a tabor; and the goombay is a rustic drum, being formed of the trunk of a hollow tree, one end of which is covered with a sheep's skin. The songs of the Negroes are commonly *impromptu*; and there are amongst them individuals, who resemble the *improvisatori*, or extempore bards of Italy*. Their tunes are generally characteristic of their national manners; those of the Eboes, for instance, being soft

* See Note (p.)

and soothing, of the Koromantyns, heroic and martial. But the general strain of their music is melancholy, and is often extremely affecting.

At their merry meetings, they have songs and ballads, adapted to such occasions, in which they give a full scope to a talent for ridicule, of which they are possessed in an uncommon degree; and in which, they amuse themselves, not only at the expense of the awkward *new-come* Negro, or *buckra*, but also at the follies or foibles of their masters and mistresses. At the funerals of such as were respected in life, they engage in a warlike dance, in which they display great agility, by running, leaping, and jumping, accompanied with many violent, and frantic gestures and contortions. Here also they sing funeral songs of an heroic nature, considering death as a welcome release from the calamities of life; and as a passport to the delightful, and never-to-be-forgotten, scenes of their nativity; an event, which, while it frees them from bondage, restores them to the society of their dear, long-lost relatives of Africa. And though there is no doubt, that many of the Negroes, from the kindness and example of the whites, become affected with a fear of dissolution, yet, it is a disposition by no means general. Indeed, whatever the cause may be, the inhabitants of warm climates, while they are less capable of bearing hardships, and are even less courageous, than the natives of northern regions, seem to be less alarmed by the fear of death, and less affected by a terror of dissolution.

Whatever their notions of religion in Africa may have been, they, not unlike their European masters, seem to pay little regard to the ceremonies of any system in Jamaica. But they are not, on that account, the less superstitious. A belief in *obeah*, or witchcraft, is almost universal among them. The professors of this occult science, are always Africans, and

generally old and crafty: Hoary heads, gravity of aspect, and a skill in herbs, are the chief qualifications for this curious office. The Negroes, both Africans and Creols, (i. e. those born in the island) revere, consult, and fear them. To these oracles they resort with implicit faith on all occasions, whether for the cure of disorders; the obtaining revenge for injuries and insults; the conciliation of favour; the discovery and punishment of the thief or adulterer; and the prediction of future events. The trade which these impostors carry on, is extremely lucrative, manufacturing and selling their *obies*, for various circumstances, and at different prices. The deluded Negroes, who thoroughly believe in their supernatural power, tremble at the very sight of the ragged bundle, the bottle, or the egg-shells, which are stuck in the thatch, or hung over the door of a hut, or upon the branch of a plantain tree, to deter marauders. Those wiser Negroes, who know the absurdity of the general belief, like the learned in countries where an absurd system of religion is established, are obliged to conceal their sentiments, lest they should incur the terrible vengeance of the obeah-men, which is fulminated against all those who condemn or betray them: It is consequently extremely difficult for the proprietor of an estate to distinguish the obeah-professor from any other Negro on his plantation; and so infatuated are these poor creatures, that there are very few instances of their assuming sufficient courage to impeach these dangerous impostors. With these prepossessions, they no sooner find *obi set for them*, near the door of their house, or in the path which leads to it, than they give themselves up for lost.

When a Negro is robbed of a fowl or a hog, he immediately applies to the obeah-man or woman; it is then made known that *obi* is set for the thief; and as soon as the latter hears the dreadful news, his terrified imagination begins to work, and

no resource is left for him, but in the superior skill of some more eminent obeah-man in the neighbourhood, who may counteract the magical operations of the other; but if no one can be found of higher rank and ability, or if, after gaining such an ally, he should still fancy himself affected, he presently falls into a decline, under the incessant horror of impending calamities. The slightest painful sensation in the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, as well as any casual loss or hurt confirm his apprehensions, and he believes himself to be the devoted victim of an invisible and irresistible agency. Sleep, appetite, and cheerfulness forsake him; his strength decays, his disturbed imagination is haunted without respite, and his features wear the gloom of a settled despondency; dirt, or any other unwholesome substance, becomes his only food; he contracts a morbid habit of body, and gradually sinks into the grave.

A Negro, when seized with illness, inquires of the obeah-man the cause of his sickness, whether it will prove mortal, and within what time he shall die or recover. The oracle generally ascribes the distemper to the malice of some particular person; but if no hopes are given of recovery, immediate despair, which no remedy can remove, takes place, and death is the certain consequence. These anomalous symptoms, which arise from causes deeply rooted in the mind, such as the terrors of *obi*, or poisons, whose operations are slow, will baffle the skill of the ablest physician. From a consideration of the multitude of occasions which provoke the slaves to exercise the powers of *obi* against each other, and the astonishing influence of superstition upon their minds; to these causes a very considerable portion of the annual mortality of the Negroes was formerly attributed. The *obi* is usually composed of a farrago of materials, most of which are enumerated in

the law made against the practice of this art, in the year 1760, such as, blood, feathers, parrots' beaks, dogs' teeth, alligators' teeth, broken bottles, grave-dirt, rum, and egg-shells. Severe examples have frequently been made of the practitioners of this destructive art, which, though they have rendered it less frequent, have by no means totally destroyed it. Men are not easily weaned by force from their habits, and least of all, from those which are superstitious.

The Negroes, especially the Creols, so far from being slow of comprehension, are uncommonly acute and penetrating; but this observation applies chiefly to those, who have been much in the company of the white inhabitants. However, even the labourers are far from being stupid; and may, with propriety, destitute of religion and education as they are, be accounted the equals in mental attainments, with the great majority of the inhabitants of Europe. They are capable of strong and ardent friendship, (disinterested, it must be;) and they have often displayed marks, the most unequivocal, of the sincerity of their attachment. A *ship-mate* is one of their most endearing appellations; and they who have been wafted across the Atlantic ocean in the same vessel, ever after look upon each other as brethren: So natural is it for partners in misfortune, to become dear to each other!

The slave-trade of England is at present, almost wholly confined to the town of Liverpool. The merchants of this place have no fewer than one hundred and twenty-four ships, amounting to twenty-eight thousand tons, and navigated by upwards of six thousand seamen, which are engaged in this trade. The ships are provided each with a surgeon, and sail from the port of Liverpool for the coast of Africa. As soon as they arrive at their place of destination, intelligence is conveyed to the white and black factors and chiefs, who immedi-

ably hasten with the blacks whom they have collected, to receive the price of their property, and the reward of their industry. The Negroes are paid for in proportion to their size, sex, age, and health, by various articles, such as rum, wines, clothing, hardware, fire-arms, gunpowder, &c.

As soon as the slave-captain receives his cargo on board, the men-slaves are secured in irons, by fastening every two men together, the right ankle of the one, being locked by means of a small iron fetter, to the left of the other; and when marks of a discontented or a turbulent disposition appear, an additional fetter is put upon their wrists. Women and young persons are generally exempted from the irons; and when the ship is out at sea, and no more danger is apprehended from the men, the irons are usually taken off. The greater part of the cargo consists of young people, from sixteen to thirty years of age, who are lodged between decks, on clean boards, whilst the men and women are separated from each other by bulk-heads. Fresh air is admitted by means of wind-sails or ventilators. They have no covering, which would be in a great measure useless to them, both from their previous habits, and the heat of the tropical regions. Every morning, when the weather permits, they are brought upon deck, and are not driven down again until the evening. Their apartments are, in the mean time, washed, scraped, fumigated, and sprinkled with vinegar. The first attention paid to them in the morning, is, to supply them with water to wash their hands and faces, after which, they are provided with their morning meal, which, according to the custom of Africa, consists either of Indian corn, of rice, or of yams. Before noon, they are also made to bathe regularly in salt-water; than which, nothing can be more agreeable, healthful, and refreshing.

Their dinner is varied, consisting sometimes of the food

already mentioned, to which they have been accustomed in Africa, and sometimes of provisions brought from Europe such as dried beans and pease, wheat, shilled barley, and biscuit: All these are boiled in steam, until they become soft, when they are mixed with a sauce made of meat, with fish, or palm-oil, the latter of which is a constant and much relished article of their cookery. At each meal, they are allowed as great a quantity as they can eat, after which, they have a sufficient quantity of water, unless when the captain is necessitated, from motives of prudence, to put them on a short allowance. Drams are also given to them, when the weather is cold or wet; and pipes and tobacco, whenever they desire them. In the intervals between their meals, they are encouraged to divert themselves with music and dancing, for which purpose, such rude instruments, as are used in Africa, are collected before their departure: They are also permitted to amuse themselves with games of chance, for which they are likewise furnished with implements of African invention. When sick, the invalids are immediately removed to the captain's cabin, or to an hospital, built near the forecastle, where they are attended with all the care, both in medicine and food, of which the nature of their circumstances will admit. Indeed, it is a fact, that at present, every scheme which can possibly be thought of, for the preservation of the health, cleanliness, and cheerfulness of the Negroes, is adopted during the voyage. This has chiefly taken place, since the attention of the English House of Commons has been turned to the subject. For formerly, the rapaciousness and cruelty of some captains of slave-ships were such, as almost to exceed belief, instances of wanton barbarity being often committed, which were a disgrace to humanity. Small ships of two hundred and forty tons burthen were frequently laden with five hundred and twenty

slaves, which was affording somewhat less than ten inches of room to each individual! The consequence of this inexcusable avarice, was frequently a loss of twenty Negroes out of every hundred, before they were disposed of in the West India market, which shows, that anxiety of riches often defeats its own purpose, and which displays a destruction of the human species, capable of exciting in the minds of even the most thoughtless and unfeeling, strong emotions of indignation and horror.

By an act of the British legislature, these abuses have been, in a great degree, remedied. This law enacts, that vessels not exceeding two hundred and ten tons shall not carry of *male* slaves, exceeding four feet four inches in height, more than one for each ton; nor vessels of a large size, more than three such males for every five tons; that no slave-ships of any description shall carry more than five slaves for every three tons of burthen, and when of a size greater than two hundred and ten tons, only one additional slave is allowed to be carried for every ton. These, and some other regulations of a similar nature, have much diminished the mortality of slaves during the voyage, and have, in all respects, rendered their situation infinitely more comfortable, than what it was formerly.

The arrival of a slave-ship in any port of Jamaica is advertised by the agent to whom the cargo is consigned, in which, the number of Negroes imported, the country from whence they come, and the day of their sale, are particularly mentioned. The Negroes are in the mean time decked out in their gayest attire,—coarse hats, osnaburg frocks, and small strings of beads. The planters and merchants who wish to become purchasers, attend on the day appointed; and after making a choice, and agreeing for the price, remove the Negroes to the place of their destination. They are then distinguished by dif-

ferent names, according to the will of their master; and when numbers of them are together, the name is written on a small ticket, and tied with a string about their necks. They are, at the same time, furnished with a small wooden spoon, which forms the whole of their property. They are treated with considerable kindness by their new proprietors, who endeavour, by every means in their power, to render them contented with their situation. They are generally inoculated with the small, or the cow pock, matter. They, especially the young, learn the language, with considerable facility, and soon become active and useful. The initials of the proprietor's name are often marked upon the shoulders or breast of the Negro, by means of a small silver brand, heated in the flame of spirits, with the intention of recognising him, in case of his becoming a run-away.

On plantations, the Negroes are generally divided into three classes, called *gangs*; the first of which consists of the most healthy and robust, both of the males and females, whose chief business it is, before crop-time, to clear, hole, and plant the ground; and during crop-time, to cut the canes, feed the mills, and attend the manufacture of the sugar. It is computed, that of the whole body of the Negroes on a well-conditioned plantation; there is commonly one-third of this description, exclusive of domestics, and tradesmen, such as, carpenters, coopers, and masons. The second gang is composed of young boys and girls, pregnant females, and convalescents, who are chiefly employed in weeding the canes, and other light work, adapted to their strength and condition; and the third gang consists of young children, attended by a careful old woman, who are employed in collecting green-meat for the pigs and sheep, or, in weeding the garden, and gentle exercise of that nature, merely to preserve them from habits of idleness.

The first gang is summoned to the labours of the field a little before sun-rise, by the blowing of a conch-shell. They bring with them, besides their hoes and bills, provisions for their breakfast, and are attended by a white person, and a black superintendant, who is called *the driver*. The list is then called over, and the names of all the absentees noted; after which, they commence their labour, and continue at work, till eight or nine o'clock, when they sit down in the shade to breakfast, which has been in the meantime prepared by a certain number of women, whose sole employment is to cook. This meal consists of boiled yams, eddoes, ocra, calalue, and plantains, or as many of these vegetables as can be easily procured; and the whole, when seasoned with salt, and cayenne pepper, is a very agreeable and wholesome breakfast. In the meantime, the absentees generally arrive, when they are punished by a certain number of lashes from the driver's whip, in proportion to the aggravated circumstances of the crime. After half an hour's intermission from labour, their work is again resumed. They toil till noon, and are again allowed an intermission. Two hours are now allotted for rest and refreshment; one of which is commonly spent in sleep. Their dinner is now provided, composed of the same materials with their breakfast, with the addition of salted meat or pickled fish, of which each Negro receives a weekly allowance. Many of them, however, prefer a plentiful supper to a meal at noon, and pass the time of their recess from labour, either in sleep, or in collecting food for their pigs and poultry, of which they are permitted to keep as many as they please. At two o'clock, they are again summoned to the field, where, having been refreshed, both by rest and food, they now manifest some signs of vigorous and animated application; although it is an undoubted fact, that one British labourer will perform three or four times more

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work, than a Negro in the same period. At sun-set, or very soon after, they are released from their toil, and allowed to return to their huts; and when the day has been wet, or their toil unusually severe, they are sometimes indulged with an allowance of rum. They do not, in general, labour longer than ten hours every day, Sunday excepted. In the crop season, however, the arrangement is different; for at that time, such of the Negroes as are employed in the mill, and boiling-houses, often work late, frequently all night; but, in this case, they are commonly divided into watches, which relieve each other.

The slaves have provision-grounds allotted to them, which they are allowed to cultivate on Sunday, and which they have the liberty of carrying to market, and disposing of for their own emolument. Except in crop-time, they are allowed one day in every fortnight, besides Sunday, for the cultivation of their provision-grounds. They seldom cultivate any thing besides plantains, corn, &c.: The esculent roots, such as, yams, eddoes, potatoes, they are by no means fond of, although they are a far more certain crop than the former, being less exposed to the influence of drought and storms.

The huts of the Negroes are truly wretched habitations, being barely sufficient to screen them from the inclemencies of the weather. Some idea of them may be formed by those who have seen the cabins of the Irish peasant, or the Scottish highlander, than which, they are only one degree worse. The cottages are generally huddled together, and form a small village, destitute of beauty, order, or regularity; the natural appearance of which, however, is generally relieved by the picturesque appearances of the woods with which they are surrounded, and the fruit-trees, particularly the banana, the avocado-pear, and the orange, with which they are adorned.

Their clothing is such as has been already mentioned; but even this coarse and scanty covering is too sparingly allotted to them by the proprietors; it being, in many instances, two years, before new osnaburg frocks are allotted to them.

Their health is very punctually attended to. Every large estate has one practitioner of physic either resident on it, or in the immediate neighbourhood, who pays a constant attention to those who are sick. For this purpose, he is paid liberally; the Negroes are attended in the sick-room, or hospital, over which an aged Negress presides as nurse. The proprietor commonly furnishes blankets, rice, sugar, oatmeal and flour; whilst those who are more liberal, supply them with beef and mutton, and even sometimes spices, sago, and wines. The Negroes are subject to the same diseases with the Europeans; though they are seldom affected, and still more seldom carried off, by those fevers, which usually prove so destructive to the white settlers.

It seems to be an undoubted fact, that a great number of the Negroes sold in Africa are such as have been born slaves, and would have continued in that deplorable situation, had their coast never been visited by Europeans. This consideration will, no doubt, diminish the regret of a generous mind, when beholding thousands of these unfortunate creatures carried into distant regions; but it can certainly form no excuse for a traffic, which, in its origin, progress, and every circumstance, is diametrically opposite to the eternal principles of justice and humanity. If one man be vicious in his conduct, it can certainly be no excuse for his neighbour, especially, if more enlightened, that he only follows the example of another; for that which is radically wrong, can never be rendered right by any circumstances, however palliating. If the African slave-trade be unjust, then, in its principle, there cannot remain a

doubt, than an abolition of it is a measure extremely desirable. Indeed, the arguments adduced by those who defend this trade on the broad basis of justice and humanity, do not seem worthy of any serious reply. They are seldom more than an ingenious defence of a cause, which is equally condemned by the feelings, the religion, and the judgment of almost every enlightened, and benevolent individual.

The advocates for the slave-trade assert, that slavery has existed in all ages; that the slaves sold in Africa are criminals, and captives in war, who, were they not sold, would be butchered; that, the Negroes in the West Indies, are happier than they would have been, had they remained in Africa, and, that their enjoyments are superior to those of the peasants of Europe; that, an abolition of the slave-trade would bring absolute ruin upon the planters of the western world; and, that slavery is never disapproved of in our sacred writings, but is, on the contrary, expressly mentioned in terms of approbation by several of the inspired writers, especially the Jewish law-giver, who, by divine inspiration, and while under the divine influence, explicitly asserts, "that the slave is the *money* " of his master," and accordingly appoints a certain sum to be paid for his murder; and they further add, that slavery is not mentioned in terms of disapprobation by the great and amiable author of the Christian religion.

These arguments have been so often refuted, that it is altogether unnecessary to enter into a minute investigation of them. That men have been, in every age, inclined to encroach on the liberty and property of their neighbours; can surely never furnish a defence for the continuance of slavery; as well might it be asserted, that, as men have been, in every age, superstitious, so, superstition is good, is useful, and ought to be encouraged. That the slaves who are purchased in Africa

were born in this state, is a mere assertion without any proof, which must consequently be judged of, according to its probability ; and though such is really the case with some, perhaps with many, yet if we consider the temptations to which the powerful and avaricious chiefs are exposed, there can remain little doubt, that wars are often excited, and injustice is in many instances committed, in consequence of the speedy sale, and the great profits, which are so easily acquired. Whether the Negroes in the West India colonies are happier than the great mass of the people in European countries, is a consideration, on which the justice or injustice of the slave-trade cannot, in the smallest degree, depend: And though there is really a considerable degree of truth in the assertion, that the enjoyments of the Negro are, on the whole, superior to those of the European labourer, yet this is rather a proof, that the condition of the latter requires commiseration and amendment, than that the lot of the former is desirable, and ought to be envied. That the abolition of this trade would prove the destruction of the whites, and the ruin of the planter, is a subject, which shall afterwards be considered. And with respect to that argument, which rests the defence of slavery on divine authority, it is so insidious and sneering, that it deserves only to be left to its fallaciousness and absurdity: Or, it may with safety be confided to the consideration of the clergy, a class of men, the most able, and not the least willing of the community, to explain and defend the consistency of the sacred writings.

Having thus, in a very few words, pointed out the weakness of the reasoning employed in defence of slavery, by the most able of its advocates, let us now shortly inquire, whether the abolition of this trade would be consistent with good policy.

Such is the constitution of our nature, that men are always more inclined to follow the dictates of good policy, than of

strict justice. In a question of such an important nature, therefore, as that of the slave-trade, if it can be shown, that an abolition is equally agreeable to a liberal and enlightened policy, and to strict justice, there may exist a rational hope, that the enemies of this proposal, except those who are actuated by the mean and narrow views of self-interest, will gradually relax in their opposition, and will at length approve of the measure. If we consider the extraordinary state of the population of the West India islands, the blacks being in number, as ten to one; if we consider the nature of the country, the disposition of the slaves, and the notions of emancipation which they already entertain; if we consider the situation of St. Domingo, the most extensive, the richest, and the most populous of all the West India colonies, where a kind of equality reigns, which, however rude, is still predominant; if we consider, that every slave-ship brings an increase of numbers to the slaves, and renders them the more powerful and dangerous; and if we consider, independant of the disposition of the slaves, that their interest is, in the nature of things, diametrically opposite to that of the white inhabitants; there can remain little doubt, that the further importation of slaves from Africa, is a measure pregnant with mischief, which, if persisted in, will probably be productive of the most tragical consequences. But, if we combine with these prudential reasons, a consideration of the injustice and cruelty of the traffic, no man, who has not been at some pains to eradicate every generous principle from his bosom, can, for a moment, desire a further continuance of the slave-trade. Indeed, this trade is only the interest of a few slave-merchants in England; (in Scotland and Ireland, there are happily, and to the honour of these countries, none of this description) for to the proprietors of estates, and to the planters of Jamaica, whether resident in the island or not, it

will, if continued, sooner or later, prove disastrous and destructive.

But say the planters of Jamaica, men, who, whatever may be the prejudices excited against them by the indiscriminating voice of clamour, are certainly not inferior in liberality, intelligence and humanity, to any class of their fellow-subjects in the British empire, "An abolition of the slave-trade would tend to depopulate the country; the remaining Negroes would be necessitated to endure greater hardships, and to perform more labour; disease, discontent, and despondency would naturally succeed, and a general mortality would be a certain consequence." To these representations, it may be replied, that so far would an abolition of the further importation of slaves be from exposing them to greater hardships, that it would tend essentially to alleviate their burdens; it would make them more valuable, and would render their masters still more attentive to their health, comfort, and happiness; (and indeed, it cannot be denied, that the proprietors in Jamaica display the most laudable dispositions towards their slaves;) it would make them discourage polygamy, and promiscuous intercourse, which prove equally destructive of the health and happiness of the Negro, and detrimental to the increase of population; it would secure the attachment of the slaves to their masters, and prevent their power from increasing to a still more dangerous and alarming extent.

But, they add, "The business of cultivation cannot go on without an increase, and, for many years at least, a regular supply of inhabitants." Then turn your eyes, Ye legislators of Jamaica! to the quickly depopulating plains and vales, and the crowded shores of Scotland and Ireland! Here, an immense, an incalculable accession of strength, power, and security, awaits you. Let allurements be held out to these indus-

trious and respectable, though unfortunate, individuals, sufficient to counterbalance their terror of the climate. Let them, and their families, be carried, free of expence, across the Atlantic ocean. Let small settlements for the culture of coffee, cotton, or any other of the lesser staple commodities of the island, be formed in the mountains, or uncleared woods; and to those who have not money sufficient for these purposes, let small sums be advanced from the public purse, to be at a limited period, repaid. Thus, in a few years, an immense accession of wealth to the country, and of security to the white inhabitants, might be easily procured; a most valuable class of men would be encouraged; industry would be awakened, and cultivation would increase, even in mountains almost inaccessible, and the island would gradually arrive at a high pitch of security, civilization, and happiness*.—These observations will probably be considered by some, as only the wild schemes of a chimerical projector, but unless some such conduct is adopted, it requires no great foresight to perceive, that sooner or later, the lives, or at least, the happiness of the white inhabitants will be destroyed; the wealth of the proprietors will be swallowed up, and the colony will be for ever lost to the mother country.

Another subject, which the philanthropist will contemplate with pleasure, and which the planter of Jamaica ought to attend to, from motives of self-interest, is, the melioration of the condition of the slaves. A consideration of the laws now in existence, respecting the treatment of slaves†, will convince us, that much has been already done; and no man of candour, who has been a witness to their situation in Jamaica, can deny, that they are treated, on the whole, with a great degree of

* See Note (g.)

† See Appendix, No. 3.

tenderness and humanity. But much may, and, it is hoped, will, yet be done, for the advancement of their happiness. The following hints may perhaps deserve consideration.

In every country, and, in every age, the first step towards the civilization of man, has been to inspire him, with an idea, and a desire of property. When he has something which appertains to himself, and which separates his interest from that of his neighbours, though his patriotism and benevolence receive a powerful check, yet he is, at the same time, less disposed to turbulence, acquires an interest in the welfare of the community, and becomes a peaceable subject, and an useful member of society. No matter how small the property which he possesses: Even a few beads may acquire, in his opinion, a value, far superior to that of the most precious diamonds. Let the planter, then, even from motives of policy, endeavour to inspire the Negro with just ideas of property. Let a small portion of provision-ground be allotted to him by law; and let the produce, whatever it may be, either in nature or quantity, be solely his own. Let a certain moderate *quantum* of labour be apportioned to every Negro; and for whatever he executes beyond it, let him punctually receive an adequate compensation. Let the punishment of all petty offences be confined to small fines, proportioned to the wealth and delinquency of the guilty individual. Let polygamy be not only discouraged, and expressly prohibited, but severely punished; and let all promiscuous intercourse between the sexes be, as much as possible, prevented. Polygamy may have been instituted, from motives of good policy, in a country, where the males had, by war, or some other scourge of mankind, been much reduced in number; but, where the contrary is notoriously the case, where the females bear a small proportion to the males, it must appear evident to every man, that poly-

gamy is equally contrary to good policy, to good morals, and to an increase of population.

Let some attention be paid to the cultivation of their minds; and let them be at least, instructed in the first principles of religion. For this purpose, let schoolmasters be appointed to every great estate, and be considered, as necessary appendages as surgeons; let the young Negroes be taught to speak and read English; and let the idea of a great and beneficent Being, who created and governs the universe, and the reality of a future state of rewards and punishments, be strongly impressed upon their minds. Let them be taught the great truth, that to be just, is to be prudent; and that to perform their duty, and to wish well to all men, are the only sources of unfading happiness.

Let proportionate rewards be given to those, who have displayed exemplariness and regularity of conduct; who have made considerable advances in ingenuity and knowledge; who have lived faithfully and happily in the marriage-state, and have been the parents of a certain number of children; or, who have distinguished themselves by their industry, sobriety, and prudence. Those of this description might even, after a servitude of seven or fourteen years, according to existing circumstances, be safely admitted to the enjoyment of liberty; never forgetting, that the state is bound, both by motives of justice and prudence, to make up for the pecuniary losses sustained by individuals.

In this manner, the country, instead of being threatened with convulsions, would remain in the most perfect security; the wealth, and consideration of the planters, instead of being diminished, would increase and flourish; (indeed, they would be nearly in the same situation, with the lords of the soil in European countries;) the civilization and happiness of an

ill-fated race of men would be greatly advanced, their industry would be excited, their tempers would be softened, their minds would be elevated and enlarged, and they would be gradually fitted for the safe and peaceable enjoyment of that liberty, which is the gift of Heaven, and ought to be the enjoyment of every rational creature.—These proposals are to be considered as only the rough outlines of a plan, which ought to be adopted; but which, if unattended to, the slave-system in the West Indies, will one day, it is to be feared, hurl destruction on the heads of those, who neglected the admonitions of justice, of prudence, of religion, of humanity.

CHAPTER VI.

People of Colour, and Free Negroes.

THE people of colour are distinguished by different names, according to their nearness in consanguinity to the white or black inhabitants. They are called Samboes, Mulattoes, Quadroons, and Mustees. A *Samboe* is the offspring of a black woman by a Mulatto man. A Mulatto is the child of a black woman by a white man. A *Quadroon* is the offspring of a Mulatto woman by a white man: and a *Mustee* is that of a Quadroon woman by a white man. The offspring of a female Mustee by a white man, is white in the eye of the law; but all the rest, whether Mulattoes, Quadroons or Mustees, are considered by the law, as Mulattoes, and are treated with considerable, perhaps ill-judged, rigour. However rich they may be, their evidence in criminal cases against white persons, or even against people of colour, is inadmissible; and in this respect, it has been with justice observed, that they are placed in a worse situation than slaves, who have masters interested in their protection, and who, if their slaves are maltreated, have a right to recover damages, by bringing an action against the aggressor. The Mulattoes are also denied the privilege of being eligible to serve in parochial vestries and general assemblies, of holding commissions in the black and Mulatto companies of militia, or of acting in any office of public trust, even so low as that of a constable. They are precluded also from voting at elections for members of the house of assembly.

They are likewise prevented, as much as possible, from acquiring too great an influence in the island, by means of wealth. In an act of assembly passed in the year 1762, it is declared, That a testamentary devise from a white person to a Negro or Mulatto not born in wedlock, of a real or personal estate, exceeding in value two thousand pounds currency, shall be void, and the property shall descend to the heir at law.

These regulations degrade the Mulattoes, and by depriving them of that great stimulus to laudable exertion, the respect of their neighbours, render them equally useless and miserable. But still what one would not at first view have expected, they have uniformly, even in the most dangerous times, remained loyal to government, in the most exemplary manner. When cruel to their Negroes, they are certainly more so, than even the most unfeeling of the whites; and it is probably on this account, that the Mulattoes and Negroes have a strong and constant hatred of each other. In their intercourse with the whites, the Mulattoes are humble, submissive, unassuming, and even kind. They are conscious of their condition, and bending, as they do, with meekness, under the rod, they cannot but excite the commiseration of the generous.

The females of this class are still more objects of compassion than the males. Their education is almost totally neglected. They have no ideas of a dignified propriety of thought or of conduct; and their notions of virtue are confused and depraved. They are never allowed to expect the enjoyment of that most perfect of all sublunary happiness, especially to a female, the pleasures of the marriage state. The young men of their own rank and condition are too much degraded to think of marriage; and for a white man to marry a Mulatto would be a degradation, which would for ever exclude him from the respectable company of his own colour, and sink him

to a level with those, who are excluded from all consideration in society. The utmost ambition of a young Mulatto female, therefore, is to become the mistress of a white man, in which station, she behaves with a fidelity, modesty, tenderness, and prudence, which are highly exemplary, and which might furnish an important lesson to many a married European lady. They are all highly and honourably distinguished by their tender care and compassion for the sick, tending them with the most constant assiduity from mere motives of benevolence, expecting no reward, and unambitious of applause. They are very affectionate mothers, and display towards their children the most unbounded attachment.

Something might surely be done for the relief of this unfortunate and unjustly degraded class of individuals. They are excluded from all society of the whites; even those of the lowest class of the latter, disdaining to sit at the same table with the richest Mulatto*. They are despised by the whites; hated; feared, and envied by the blacks; and though possessed of

* The following is an example of this fact, well known to the author, and is chiefly mentioned, as it is by no means extraordinary: In the year 1799, the vessel in which he was a passenger, bound to Jamaica, touched at Barbadoes. The cabin-passengers went a-shore to enjoy themselves, and to gratify their curiosity with the first view of the new world. Among others, there was a young gentleman of fortune, a Mulatto, who had been sent to Europe for his education, and who had conducted himself during the voyage, with such singular prudence, and propriety, as to gain the good-will, and even the respect, of all his fellow-passengers. He even displayed in conversation, a highly cultivated mind, and very respectable talents. Going a-shore with those who had been his friends and companions during the voyage, he went with them into a tavern in Bridge-town, the capital of the island. Having ordered some *sangaree*, (wine mixed with water) they had not time to be seated, when a waiter came rudely up to the young Mulatto, and, taking him by the arm, said, "Sir, you cannot come in here: *You* must not sit down with *gentlemen*." The young Mulatto literally started with indignation, followed the waiter to an empty room, and burst into tears.

property, talents, and amiable dispositions, are not only prevented from being useful, but are, in some degree, rendered miserable in themselves, and a burden upon society.

The free blacks are nearly in the same situation with the Mulattoes; and indeed, in their present degraded state, their freedom is of very little use, in advancing their happiness. Their customs, manners, and employments are so similar to those of the slaves, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to make any characteristic distinction.

[AS it would be unpardonable presumption in any man, to write on a subject which he has not studied, and especially on one of such importance, as that of medicine, the author begs leave to mention, as an apology for the introduction of the observations and advices contained in this chapter, that he has, for a considerable number of years, studied the healing art, under the best and most celebrated teachers of the present day, both in this country, and on the continent of Europe. He has also had an opportunity, though he has never practised the profession of medicine, of observing the progress and effects of almost all the diseases here enumerated, and of perceiving the necessity and advantages of a sedulous attention to those precautionary measures, and that prudent conduct, which are here most seriously, and earnestly recommended.]

CHAPTER VII.

Diseases of European Settlers.—Great Necessity of Sobriety.—Best Season for leaving Europe.—Precautions necessary during the Voyage.—Dress.—General Directions.—Fever.—Symptoms.—Method of Cure.—Dry-belly-ache.—Inflammation of the Liver.—Dysentery.—Diseases of the Negroes.—The Yaws.—Leprosy.—Jaw-fall.—Dirt-eating.

MAN is, according to the expressive language of a Jewish poet, *fearfully and wonderfully made*. The human frame is constructed with so much accuracy, minuteness, and wisdom, that it excites the astonishment of every reflecting mind. But it is at the same time, for reasons to us, unknown, so slender, so much exposed to danger, and so easily affected with innu-

merable diseases, which can neither be foreseen, prevented, nor understood, that man, ceasing to be an object of wonder, not only becomes frequently a torment to himself, but excites the commiseration of every compassionate beholder.

Of all animals, man sustains with the greatest impunity, the utmost variations of heat and cold. Whether shivering in the frozen zone, or basking under the burning rays of a tropical sun, he lives, flourishes, and propagates. But the temperate regions are best fitted to his nature and faculties. Exercise, which is necessary to the preservation of his health, can here be, at all times, easily obtained; the necessaries of life neither spring spontaneously, nor are difficult to be reared; while gentle exercise, preserving bodily health, invigorates the mind, and renders the natives of the temperate regions more intelligent, more active, and more happy, than the inhabitants of any other division of the globe.

Young Europeans, inspired with a love of adventure, or actuated by a laudable desire of bettering their condition, often leave their native land, and become inhabitants of the tropical regions. It is a melancholy fact, however, that great numbers of these gallant men perish in the hazardous enterprize. Exposed to a burning sun, and a sultry atmosphere by day; chilling dews, and unhealthful vapours by night; obliged to conform themselves to new manners, new employments, new food, and new clothing, their bodies become irritable and weak, and are readily affected with those contagions, which prove so destructive to Europeans. The new world, indeed, appears to be surrounded with the flaming sword of the angel, threatening destruction to all those, who venture within its reach.—But, perhaps, that mortality which is so much to be lamented, arises more from the thoughtlessness and imprudence

of young settlers, than from the prevalence of contagion, or the unhealthful nature of the climate.

The passions of the young are at all times with difficulty restrained, even when under the influence of a cold climate, parental authority, and general sobriety of manners. But freed from the restraint of these powerful incentives to a prudent and virtuous conduct, the new inhabitants of the western world, forgetting the advices of parental wisdom, and neglecting the dictates of prudence, too often indulge themselves in the immoderate gratification of those desires, which, for the most useful purposes, are inherent in our natures, but which, when indulged to excess, prove the bane of our happiness, and the destruction of our existence. The fatal consequences of this inattention to sobriety, more fatal in this country than in any other, cannot be too frequently expatiated on, or too frequently mentioned. Those only who have been witnesses of the mortality occasioned by the indulgence of new-comers in these gratifications, to the enjoyment of which they are unavoidably tempted, can be sufficiently aware of the importance of this observation. Moderation in eating, drinking, exercise, and in the indulgence of the strongest appetite of nature, is, in every quarter of the globe, equally the conduct of the wise and of the good; and, though in tropical regions, an observance of it is more difficult, a careful attention to it, is, on that very account, rendered the more necessary, and is, indeed, in all regions, the only source of perfect health and happiness.

Europeans who mean to settle in the western world, should, if possible, leave their native land towards the latter end of autumn. They will, in that case, without being exposed to any sudden or violent variations of temperature, arrive at the warm regions in the months of November or December; at

which period, and during the three succeeding months, the atmosphere is more dry and more cool, than at any other season of the year. If a choice of residence can be procured, an elevated situation is undoubtedly preferable; whilst stagnant waters, newly cleared lands, and swampy grounds, are to be sedulously avoided. And even when necessitated to follow their business in such places, new settlers ought, on all occasions, to retire to some more healthy situation during the night. But, as young Europeans are often obliged to remain in such places, both day and night, the utmost precautions are absolutely necessary, for the preservation of their health: They ought to sleep in the highest apartments of the house; in which, during moist or rainy weather, it will be proper to have a fire: They should also smoke tobacco, and indulge themselves in the regular and moderate use of wine. The use of tincture of bark, and of other stomachical bitters has, by judicious medical practitioners, been, likewise, recommended.

The dress of the white inhabitants of Jamaica is so similar to that which is worn in Britain, that it would be difficult to induce any young man to prefer another. But new settlers ought, as much as possible, to wear kerseymeres, and other light washing materials, such as dimity. They should, on all occasions, prefer the use of cotton, to that of linen, for shirts; as those made of the latter, when wet with perspiration, often prove extremely pernicious. Many wear two shirts, the under one of cotton, and the upper, of linen. Some have found the use of flannel shirts or jackets, highly advantageous; and though they are, no doubt, at first troublesome, on account of the itchiness which they occasion, yet this sensation soon ceases. New settlers should always carefully change their dress, immediately after being wet, whether from rain or perspiration; they ought also, as soon as possible, to wash their

feet with spirits, and to put on dry stockings; and when in this situation, they should drink some warm liquid, (such as tea) after they have gone to bed.

The diet of young strangers ought to consist of a proper mixture of vegetable and animal food; but the former, as tending less to dispose the fluids to putrescency, than the latter, ought to be taken in greater quantity. Salt meats must be carefully avoided, as they create a troublesome and hurtful thirst. All the fruits of the tropical regions are not equally salubrious; but the orange, the shaddock, and the pine-apple, may be freely and liberally indulged in, as they are equally grateful and salubrious to an European palate. Madeira wine is generally drank after dinner in Jamaica; but the use of it is highly noxious to new settlers, as it is much adulterated by the merchants, with a mixture of coarse brandy. Punch, or grog, made of brandy, or rum, diluted with water, is the most general drink; and as it is necessary, on account of the great heat, and consequent perspiration, to drink something, the most healthful liquor is weak punch, mixed with the juice of some ripe fruit: But even this beverage ought to be taken in small quantities, barely sufficient to quench the thirst excited. A practice which almost universally prevails, of drinking great quantities of grog in the forenoon, cannot be too much reprobated, as it destroys the tone of the stomach, takes away the appetite, and produces a stupefaction, drowsiness, and lethargy, which are extremely pernicious. Large draughts of cool liquors of any kind should never be indulged in; and, when much heated by exercise, or from any other cause, a strong current of air ought to be anxiously guarded against. In case of costiveness, with which strangers, either on ship-board, or in warm climates, are very apt to be affected, some gentle laxative ought to be taken regularly,

and in sufficient quantity, in order that the intended effect may be produced.

The only exercises which are proper for strangers, are, riding and walking, and these ought chiefly to be taken in the cool of the morning. Dancing ought to be avoided, as it occasions a too profuse perspiration: And strangers who attend assemblies, are unavoidably exposed to the moist air of the night, while returning home, as is almost universally the case, in their open carriages. Early rising is very advantageous, both as it tends to produce a habit of going early to rest, and as it conduces to health, by the cool and fragrant breath of the morning, tempting to gentle and salubrious exercise. Hair-mattresses ought to be used in preference to feather-beds, as the latter, from their warmth, produce too great a degree of relaxation.

On the whole, then, strangers may be safely and earnestly advised, to indulge, with great caution, in the delicacies of the table, and in the use of all vinous and spirituous liquors; to avoid, with the utmost assiduity, every employment and amusement, which may expose them to great and sudden alternations of heat and cold; and to enjoy all things, if not with a stoical indifference, at least, with a rational moderation*. *Venus rarissima colatur.*

Strangers, during the voyage, or on their first arrival, are often affected, and sometimes alarmed, by an eruption, called, *the prickly heat*. This disease consists in a great number of red pimples, dispersed over different parts of the body, which occasion a very distressing itching, or prickling sensation. The affection, however, is more troublesome than dangerous, unless when the eruption is injudiciously repelled. Every expo-

* See Note (r.)

sure to cold, moisture, or partial currents of air, ought, therefore, to be carefully avoided; while the use of high-seasoned meats, and stimulating liquors, is extremely improper.—Gentle laxatives and cooling purgatives are particularly indicated, and are highly useful.

The disease which, in this climate, proves so fatal to Europeans, is fever. This affection excites a diseased action in every part of the body, and is accompanied with numerous symptoms, the chief of which are, a preternatural heat of the whole system, increased quickness of the pulse, and great prostration of strength. It is distinguished by various appellations, according to the nature and duration of its phenomena, by an observation of which, the physician is enabled to apply the appropriate remedies. But these distinctions, so necessary to the success of the medical practitioner, it is not now our business to enumerate. All that is here intended, is, by avoiding as much as possible, technical terms, to give a short and general view of that species of fever, to which strangers in the new world are so much exposed, and by which they are so often destroyed.

This disease is produced by various causes, such as, a specific contagion, putridity of the atmosphere, exposure to great heat or cold, the suppression of habitual discharges, uneasiness of mind, dejection of spirits, great bodily fatigue, and excesses of all kinds. That species of fever which generally attacks strangers in this island, is distinguished by the appellation of *intermittent*, and is, in its course, divided into three stages. The person affected feels at first, a considerable languor and lassitude, accompanied with a great prostration of strength, depression of spirits, loss of appetite, coldness, and insensibility of the extremities, pains in the head, especially in the forehead, in the back, and loins, a want of taste in the mouth, and

general chilliness, while, at the same time, the pulse is small and contracted: This is termed, the first stage, or cold fit. In the second stage, the tongue becomes dry and parched; together with a great heat and want of moisture in the skin, accompanied with thirst, flushing of the face, nausea, inclination to vomit, oppression at the breast, violent pain of the head, universal restlessness, costiveness, and frequently delirium; while the pulse is quick and full: This constitutes the second stage, or the hot fit. The increased action of the heart and arteries being, at length, removed, the small vessels become relaxed; the pulse is now regular; the skin soft and moist; the tongue clean; the secretory organs become relaxed; and the fever, for a season, disappears.

Bleeding has been much, but injudiciously, employed in this disease; patients having been frequently hurried to their graves, on account of the great debility which it occasioned. Salivation by means of mercury taken internally, and rubbed on the legs and thighs, has also been much recommended, and often employed, but with no better success. The safest practice is found by experience to be that which commences with the exhibition of a gentle emetic, which evacuates the morbid contents of the stomach; for this purpose fifteen grains of ipecacuanha, to which one grain of emetic tartar is added, may be administered. Costiveness ought to be obviated, at the same time, by the use of some gentle purgative, such as, castor-oil, Glauber's salt, or cream of tartar, and manna: But if the patient is much debilitated, a clyster will be more advisable; and this remedy ought to be employed daily, if no natural evacuations take place*.

* Such phrases as these, may seem, to the general reader, indelicate; but as they are here as seldom as possible, introduced, it is to be hoped, that necessity, *which has no law*, will excuse them.

Means should now be employed to excite perspiration. For this purpose, the lower extremities ought to be bathed in warm water, and carefully dried, after which, the patient should be put in bed, when small doses of some diaphoretic remedy should be administered every two or three hours. The chamber in which the patient is placed, ought, in the mean time, by a free admission of air, to be kept as cool as possible; and when the heat and thirst are distressing, cooling, or saline draughts ought to be administered. In cases of delirium, of violent pain in the head, or great difficulty of breathing, blisters would be very useful; and when the pulse sinks, or the extremities become cold, stimulating cataplasms may be applied.

As soon as an intermission of the fever has taken place, the Peruvian bark in substance ought to be administered freely to the patient, in as great quantity, as his stomach will bear. One drachm every two or three hours may safely be given, and ought to be continued for several days. Any longings which the patient may have for fruit, or any cooling drink, may be moderately and safely gratified. And, when the patient is recovering, he ought not to venture immediately abroad, but should carefully avoid all exposure to the sun, or to the air when damp, which it generally is by night; his exercise ought to be extremely gentle, and taken chiefly in the morning, while his diet ought to be light and nourishing. Stomachical bitters, a moderate use of old wine, and of the cold bath, are extremely useful.

In all cases, when the patient is attacked with the symptoms of fever in a town, he ought, if possible, to be removed to the country:—If to a purer and cooler atmosphere, so much the better. By attending to this practice, the lives of many have been spared, who, in all probability, if suffered to remain in their hot and narrow rooms, would have soon descended to the grave.

These few simple observations on fever are chiefly intended for the use of those, who, from their situation, may find it difficult to procure medical aid. In no colony in the world, are medical practitioners to be found, better educated, more attentive, more humane, or more worthy of respect, than those of Jamaica. Instead of advising young colonists, therefore, to adopt the dangerous, and often fatal, practice of prescribing remedies for themselves, they ought to be earnestly advised, as soon as the first symptoms of disease appear, to have recourse to the medical practitioner, and to profit by that wisdom, which he has acquired by a liberal education, and a life of experience. Indeed, it is one of the many forcible and just observations of the greatest medical philosopher, who is also one of the first practical physicians, of the present day*,

* Dr. James Gregory, Professor of the Practice of Physic in the University of Edinburgh. This expression is given as nearly as possible, (the author trusting solely to his memory) in the exact words of that illustrious Teacher, as delivered in his invaluable course of lectures. Whether we consider the soundness of the doctrines delivered, the extent and usefulness of the medical knowledge communicated, or the chasteness of style, the elegance of illustration, the ease of manner, the enlivening humour, and the happy, yet harmless, flashes of wit, with which that knowledge is communicated and adorned, we may, without fear of contradiction, assert, That Dr. Gregory's Lectures are the most valuable, that ever were delivered from any medical chair. In this opinion, the author only expresses the sentiment of thousands of his fellow-pupils, scattered over every portion of the British Empire. Indeed, he would consider himself, as, in some degree, deficient in gratitude, did he not embrace an opportunity of expressing the pleasure, and the advantages, which he received from the oral instructions of this celebrated Professor, and his no less celebrated colleague, the equally elegant and profound Author of *The Philosophy of the Human Mind*, who is perhaps, the most eloquent of all modern teachers. These celebrated characters so well known, and so highly respected in the literary world, can gain no additional reputation, from the testimony of a writer, young and unknown; but an expression of gratitude and respect, where truly merited, is only just, is ever pleasing, and always respectable; and is peculiarly so, in regard to those, who, like the gentlemen now alluded to, have benefited

"That he who prescribes for himself, has a fool for his patient." If then, it is dangerous for physicians, when sick, to administer remedies to themselves, how much more so must it be for those, who have never studied that most useful of all sciences!! Were a catalogue of all those *suicides*, who have perished in consequence of their presumption or ignorance, in administering remedies to themselves, to be produced, it would strike the reflecting mind with horror and regret. Nothing then, but absolute necessity, should lead any man to neglect the advice of those, who, from their learning, judgment, and experience, are so well fitted to give directions, on that most valuable of all subjects, the preservation of health.

Europeans are affected with various other diseases, the chief of which are, dry belly-ache, inflammation of the liver, and dysentery.

The *dry belly-ache* is distinguished by acute pains and obstructions, which affect the whole length of the alimentary canal; and, indeed, the obstructions sometimes prevail in a

society by their genius and exertions. Willingly would the writer of these pages expatiate on so pleasing a theme; but were he to express his feelings, he is afraid, that he would, however unjustly, be exposed to the imputation of improper motives. Yet he cannot resist his inclination to state, that the two Professors just mentioned, would have been an advantage and an honour to any country, and to any age; and that they are bright luminaries in that constellation of genius, which has long enlightened and adorned their native land, and which has justly excited the attention, and the admiration, of Europe.

Go on, Ye amiable and eloquent Teachers! in the godlike employment of forming the minds of youth; of instructing them in the most important of all subjects, the preservation of health, the enlargement of their minds, and the direction of their conduct, while passing through this transitory world! And know, that, while engaged in the discharge of your duty, besides that pleasing reward, the approbation of your own minds, you enjoy the best wishes, mingled with the most grateful attachment, of thousands of your pupils, filling various stations in society, and scattered over every quarter of the world!

very alarming degree. This distressing complaint is occasioned by worms, indurated fæces, long continued costiveness, and the retention of bile, which has become acrid. Irregularity in the mode of living, drinking new rum, exposure to rain and moisture, and the too free use of unripe fruits, also produce attacks of this disease.

The symptoms of this complaint are, an acute pain at the pit of the stomach, extending downwards to the intestines, accompanied with eructations, squeamishness, vomiting of bilious matter, obstinate costiveness, thirst, great anxiety, difficulty of breathing, oppression of the præcordia, and a quick, hard pulse. The pain rapidly increases, the intestines seem to be drawn together by a kind of spasm, the whole region of the belly is highly painful to the touch, the urine is voided with pain and difficulty, the vomiting increases, and an incessant restlessness supervenes. The pain is sometimes confined to a particular spot, but, in general, is much diffused.

The most approved treatment in this disease, is copious venesection, purging, and if remedies for this purpose are ineffectual, injection of a clyster; the use of the warm bath every three or four hours, till a relaxation of the spasm is produced; warm fomentations, or bladders filled with hot water applied to the belly; and when all these remedies have been unsuccessful, blisters are applied, as near as possible, to the seat of the disease. In many instances, when every other method of alleviating the pain, occasioned by this disease, has been unsuccessful, the injection of warm infusions of tobacco has succeeded. The patient, while in a state of convalescence, should be restricted to a thin, light, easily digested, diet: He ought also to wear flannel next the skin, to abstain care-

fully from the use of acids, to take daily exercise, and never allow himself to become costive.

Inflammation of the liver is distinguished by an acute pain under the right side, frequently extending upwards to the shoulder, accompanied with a cough, difficulty of breathing, and pain when lying on the side affected, together with nausea and sickness; the urine is of a deep saffron colour, and small in quantity; the eyes are yellow; the skin is almost wholly tinged with the same colour; there is, at the same time, want of appetite, great thirst, costiveness, quickness and smallness of the pulse, and a considerable enlargement of the liver, which, when gently pressed, becomes much pained. The remedies are venesection, blisters, laxatives, relaxants, emollient fomentations, and clysters.

Dysentery being contagious, is generally confined to ships and camps, and is seldom prevalent among the planters or merchants of Jamaica.

There are many other diseases, with which the settlers in this colony are occasionally affected; but, in general, it may be remarked, that the diseases of the western world, though very fatal to Europeans, are by no means so numerous, as those of the temperate regions. Asthma, scrophula, consumption, and a long *et cetera*, which torment the ill-fated natives of Britain, are here almost wholly unknown. Indeed, asthmatic, scrophulous, and consumptive patients have, in many instances, received complete relief, from these distressing and fatal complaints, by a residence in this tropical region.

The Negroes, though rarely subject to those fevers, which prove so fatal to Europeans, are yet liable to be affected with several diseases, which are frequent in Europe, such as, dysentery, tetanus, and lues. But the diseases which peculiarly affect them, and which we are, on that account, shortly

to notice, are *the yaws*, *the cacabay*, or *leprosy*, dirt-eating, and the jaw-fall, as it is called by some medical practitioners, a species of tetanus, which proves very fatal to infants.

The *yaws* is supposed to be the same kind of leprosy, mentioned by the Jewish historian Moses, in the thirteenth chapter of the book of Leviticus. This disease is very contagious, being rapidly propagated by cohabitation, or even by coming in contact with those, who are already affected with it. It attacks the same person only once; and very few, especially of the Negroes imported from Africa, escape the infection. When it attacks the young, it seldom proves fatal; but to those who are advanced in years, it is always distressing, frequently dangerous, and often destructive. The first symptoms of this disease are small pimples on the skin, which make their appearance without any previous sickness, or pain; the pimples gradually increase in size, until they become large protuberant pustules, and then the cuticle cracks and peels off, from which an ichorous discharge proceeds, that forms into thick white crusts or scabs. The yaws very much resemble a mulberry, though not in colour, yet both in shape, and size, and appear in all parts of the body; but they are generally most numerous about the face, arm-pits, groin, and fundament. As the disease advances in its progress, those hairs which still remain on the parts affected, become perfectly white, and the ichorous matter discharged from the pustules, having lodged on the skin, gives it also a whitish, and a loathsome appearance. The duration of this disease is very uncertain, but generally depends upon the constitution of the patient: In some cases, the yaws arrive at their full size and maturity in four weeks, while in others, they continue to increase, for two or three months.

Negroes, as soon as the first symptoms of the disease appear,

ought to be instantly secluded from all intercourse with those of their own colour. When the eruptions have arrived at maturity, some preparation of mercury is generally administered, but not given in such a quantity, as to excite salivation. Care must be taken, that the patient really swallow the mercury, as the Negroes are very apt to retain it in their mouths, and as soon as the doctor or overseer disappears, they spit it out, with an intention to protract the cure, and consequently, to obtain a longer exemption from labour. It generally happens, in case of the patient having survived the attack, that one large eruption remains, after all the rest have dried up; this is called the *master-yaw*, and rises considerably above the surface of the skin, in a red fungus, from which an ichorous discharge constantly issues. In order to remove it, it is dressed every day with an ointment. Hard swellings often appear in the soles of the feet, after the yaws are removed, which not unfrequently produce severe pains and lameness. To remove them, the patient's feet are bathed in warm water, until they are considerably softened; after which the lumps are cut out, and an escharotic is applied. When sucking children are affected with this disease, the necessary internal remedies must be administered to the mother, or rather, to the nurse.

The *leprasy* is a disease which appears to be peculiar to warm climates. It is not so common as the yaws, but, like it, is spread by infection. It first makes its appearance, by numerous copper-coloured spots, which are dispersed over the whole body, and which, for many months, gradually increase, both in size and number, without occasioning any great alteration in the state of the health. As the disease advances, the skin begins to grow rough and scaly, and puts on a glossy appearance; a numbness is felt in the hands and feet; the voice becomes hoarse; the breath fetid; the lobes of the ears

are thickened, and seem knotty; the cheeks, and every other part of the face, are covered with large lumps of a livid colour; the mind is much disturbed, the breathing is oppressed, and the hairs of the eye-lids and eye-brows gradually fall off. These symptoms continuing to increase in violence, the lips become thick and tumid, the nostrils are obstructed, the voice is hollow, a swelling and puffiness appear in the fingers and toes; which, at length, cracking into deep fissures, ulcerate and turn into fetid, virulent sores, an intire change of countenance succeeds, the face becomes consequently disfigured, the body wastes, and a slow fever ensues, which, sooner or later, kindly relieves the patient from a horrible existence.

When once this disease is fully formed, all attempts at a cure are fruitless. What becomes therefore, the chief object of the medical practitioner is, to prevent the patient from spreading the infection, and as much as possible, to relieve him from the more distressing symptoms. For this purpose, a cool, spare diet, chiefly composed of fresh vegetables, ought to be prescribed. Mercury, has often been, in various forms, exhibited, but without the smallest success.

The *jaw-fall*, or locked jaw, is extremely fatal to Negro children, carrying off, between the fifth and fourteenth days after birth, one fourth of all those who are born in Jamaica. This disease frequently arises from the want of skill, or inattention of the black midwives, who, like their fairer sisters in Europe, are always illiterate, generally careless, and often intoxicated. This inattention is often displayed by their neglecting to purge off the meconium; by their dividing the umbilical cord with a blunt, lacerating instrument, and applying stimulant applications to it; and by their neglecting to provide for the comfort of the mother, who is generally exposed to cold, by lying in a wretched hut. As no effectual cure for the jaw-fall

is known, care must be taken to avoid those causes which are supposed to give rise to it. Every lying-in Negress should therefore be lodged in a comfortable apartment, which is neither exposed to smoke, rain, or partial currents of air. On the birth of the child, the cord should be divided with a sharp knife or scissars, after which, the portion that remains, should be wrapped up in a little scorched linen. And when the mother's milk is insufficient to carry off the meconium, two tea-spoons full of castor-oil ought to be given to the child, on the day after its birth. The remedies which are usually employed in the cure of tetanus, have been often applied in this disease, but without success.

The *dirt-eating*, or as the French call it, *mal d'estomach*, is generally fatal, by producing an incurable dropsy. This disease consists in a vitiated state of the appetite, which is supposed to arise from an indulgence of the depressing passions of the mind, from indigestion, or from a prevalence of acidity in the stomach. The method of cure usually prescribed, consists, in preventing the patient from procuring any earth, in exhibiting a gentle emetic, and in the use of bitters, and a generous diet.

CHAPTER VIII.

Customs and Manners of the Jamaicans.—Causes of a peculiar Cast of Character.—Their high Spirit of Independance.—Dispositions of the Creols.—Amiable Conduct of their Ladies.—Dress of the European Settlers.—Contempt of outward Show.—Kindness to their Slaves.—General Intelligence.—Low State of Literature.—State of the Mechanic and Labourer.—General Activity in Business.—Amusements.—Hospitality.—Attention to Religion.

THE manners of the Jamaicans, both Creols and British settlers, differ very sensibly from those of their fellow-subjects in Europe. This difference arises from their being colonists, the existence of slavery, the heat of the climate, the fruitfulness of the soil, their distance from, and their trade with, the mother country, and various other causes. The employments in which they are engaged, the nature of the country, the trade which they carry on, the objects which they have in view, the perilousness of their situation, whether arising from the great number of blacks, the diseases of the climate, or the exposure to earthquakes and hurricanes, all give a peculiar cast of character, and produce important, and generally speaking, beneficial effects.

The most prominent feature in the character of the white inhabitants of Jamaica, is, their high spirit of independance. The conscious dignity of man appears in their very looks. No tremulousness of voice, no cringing tone of submission, no disgraceful flexibility of body, no unqualified humbleness

of countenance, are ever to be observed in their conduct. A natural consequence of this most laudable characteristic of man, is candour. They speak what they think, without fear or reserve. Far superior to the low arts of duplicity and cunning, they express their sentiments and emotions, without sinister intentions, or terror for the consequences. No people are more free than themselves, or more watchful of their freedom. They pay the most vigilant attention to every circumstance, which can encroach upon their liberty; while they place the most perfect reliance on the ability and patriotism of their representatives in the house of assembly; a reliance, which, during the uniform experience of more than a century, has never once been misplaced.

The white Creols (this term is applied to all those, who are born in the island) are easily distinguished from the European settlers. They are generally tall, and thin. Their faces are pale, while their eyes seem hollow, and sunk in their heads. Their bodies are flexible, and they possess great agility, and gracefulness in their motions. Their sensibility being superior to that of the inhabitants of northern regions, they are sooner inspired with, and feel more acutely, those passions, which nature has liberally distributed to every living creature. The manners which prevail, and the luxury in which they are educated, allow them an early gratification of those passions; a circumstance, which is far from being advantageous to their morals, their minds, or their happiness. It would be unjust to stigmatize this respectable portion of the white inhabitants of Jamaica; but it may be asserted with a strict adherence to truth, that they are, in general, more effeminate, voluptuous, and indolent, than the European settlers. But though inclined to sloth, they are far from being cowardly or timid. They are, perhaps, also more inclined to ostentation and egotism in

their dress, equipages, and conversation, than their neighbours, the natives of Europe; but they, at the same time, set the latter a laudable example, in their kind, and even friendly, treatment of their slaves. Their tempers are naturally mild; but their education is much neglected. The culture of their minds is seldom attended to, is almost never thought of. This great, this unpardonable neglect, however, is not so hurtful in its effects as it otherwise would be, from the practice which very generally prevails, of sending children to England and Scotland for their education. There they acquire a portion of that manliness and hardihood of character, for which the natives of these two countries are so honourably distinguished.

The Creol ladies are handsome, elegant, and engaging. They appear, at first sight, extremely pale to a newly-arrived European; but their eyes, which are large, languishing, and expressive, beaming with animation, or melting with tenderness, compensate, in some degree, for the paleness of their countenances. In their mode of living, they are, in the highest degree, abstemious; while, in their manners, they are modest, retired, and unobtrusive, like the mother of mankind in her state of innocence, as painted by the immortal bard:

———Innocence and virgin modesty,
Their virtue, and the conscience of *their* worth,
 That would be woo'd, and not unsought be won,
 Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retir'd,
The more desirable.

MILTON.

They are distinguished by a tenderness of heart, and a generous compassion for the sick and unfortunate; their hearts are soft, and easily affected with any tender emotion; and from their retired, regular, and abstemious manners, they

generally become the most faithful wives, and the most affectionate mothers in the world.

The Creols are remarkable for an early sensibility, and quickness of perception. But their mental faculties, as is usually the case in all countries, from arriving the more rapidly at maturity, are the more stunted in their growth. They are generally, perhaps not unjustly, accused of being proud; but if they are so, they are destitute of what is too frequently an attendant on this hateful passion,—meanness. Being conscious of no injustice, and having nothing to fear, they scorn every species of concealment. They are frank, open-hearted, and unsuspicious. Their faults are never the offspring of brutality or malice; their virtues flow pure, and unadulterated, from the heart. That contempt of them, therefore, which is too frequently expressed by the European settlers, is probably more the effect of prejudice and envy, than of cool observation, or penetrating judgment.

The European settlers are natives of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They are all adventurous, and generally well educated. They follow the professions of physic, or of law; become merchants, agents, factors, store-keepers, book-keepers, and clerks; or tradesmen of various kinds, such as millwrights, carpenters, masons, and coppersmiths. But the majority are engaged in planting or commerce. They pursue their various occupations with great liveliness and spirit; and their commerce being extended and lucrative, they soon become independant and wealthy.

In their manners, an accurate observer can easily distinguish those different shades of character, which are still conspicuous in a people, born under the same government, professing the same religion, and speaking the same language. The English settlers are mild, intelligent, industrious, and contented; the

Scotish, sober, active, frugal, prudent, and penetrating; the Irish, adventurous, bustling, gay, and even ostentatious, but they are not, on this account, the less generous, and warm-hearted. The Englishman may be termed, the placid; the Scotsman, the prudent; and the Irishman, the gay philosopher.

The inhabitants are plain in their dress, and accommodate themselves, with great propriety, to their condition. None of those finical coxcombs, who flutter about the streets of an European metropolis, are here to be met with. An individual of this description would be exposed not only to the contempt of those of his own colour, but to the derision even of the Negroes.

The European settlers are more proud than vain. Being actively engaged in business, and eager in their pursuit of that wealth, which will enable them to return with honour to their native land, they have neither time nor inclination to enjoy that unsubstantial pleasure, which arises from the admiration, or envy, of others. Hence the utmost plainness in their houses, equipages, and liveries. Their country habitations are frequently only one story high, built of wood, and covered with shingles. The livery of their servants, whose heads, legs, and feet are uncovered, generally consists of a coarse osnaburg frock, loosely thrown over the body. When a stranger enters their humble dwellings, however, he is surprised at the elegance of their furniture, the quantity of their plate, the quality of their food, and the richness and profusion of their wines;—with all of which, the unostentatiousness of their dress, houses, and manners, forms a striking, and a pleasing contrast.

To their slaves, the Jamaicans behave with great humanity. They are strangers to that distance and reserve, which masters

in Europe find it necessary to display towards their servants. They interest themselves warmly in all the affairs of their slaves, hear their complaints with attention, and remedy their grievances with promptitude, converse with them freely, and allow them, on all occasions, to speak their sentiments, without restraint. Instead of behaving to them with the cruelty of a task-master, they foster them with the kindness of a friend, or the benevolence of a father. Indeed, it may, from a careful and impartial observation, be asserted, and the assertion will not have the less weight in coming from an ardent enemy of the slave-trade, that the condition of the Negroes in Jamaica, is as comfortable, as it possibly can be, while they are in a state of slavery. And though cruelties by vicious individuals have been often, too often, committed, yet the race of these unfeeling monsters, is at present, happily extinct. A man who would treat his slaves with cruelty, would not only be punished by the laws, but would be execrated as much, and as generally, as a deist in a Roman catholic country, or a friend to freedom, under a despotic government. Indeed, the planters and merchants of Jamaica, whether we regard their industry, their public spirit, their tempers, or behaviour, are among the most useful and respectable, (and were it not for the existence of slavery, for which they are not at all to be blamed, would be among the most universally respected) individuals in the civilized world.

Though literature be here but little cultivated, the inhabitants are nevertheless possessed of just notions of propriety, and much native good sense. The general intelligence of the petty juries of this island has been often remarked; and it arises partly from that unrestrained and independant intercourse, which exists between all the white inhabitants, and partly from that consciousness of dignity, with which the

existence of slavery never fails to inspire a free man. As they are much and actively engaged in business, they have little time for reading; while the ladies, for whom this excuse cannot be offered, have no great inclination for this most rational, most useful, and most delightful, of all employments. But the rays of that light of science, which illuminates and adorns the island of Britain, are now scattered beyond the Atlantic ocean, and shed a glimmering and increasing twilight on the hitherto darkened horizon of Jamaica. May the promise which they hold forth of the succession of a glorious day, be speedily realized!

Beggars, those unhappy, and degraded individuals, who swarm in all European cities, are here happily unknown. To a poor man, indeed, who, in his native land, finds a difficulty in acquiring the necessaries, and little comforts of life, this is the best country in the world. Here, industry not only procures the necessaries, but the conveniencies, and even the luxuries of life. Turn your attention, then, Ye industrious individuals, who are forced to leave your native shores, to this happy island! Here you will find a welcome, a happy and a secure asylum. Go not, then, to increase the numbers, and advance the interests of a rival state. Hasten rather to the mountains of Jamaica, where you will experience a benign government, a healthful climate, a fruitful soil, and a generous welcome. Instead of becoming aliens, you will still remain children of the great family in which you were born; will pass your days, and rear your offspring, in its bosom; will become respected, happy, and useful colonists; and will add to the stability, increase the resources, and consolidate the power of the mother country!

That refinement of manners, which is prevalent in the higher ranks of society in Europe, is here unknown. The inhabitants

are equally strangers to, and enemies of, all unnecessary ceremony and restraint. Their very language is deficient in elegance. From whatever cause it arises, their common phrases abound with nautical expressions, and what are called by the polite, or the fastidious, *vulgarisms*. Thus, instead of saying, bring or fetch any thing, they say, *hand it*; a chaise, many of them call a *chai*; an office, or employment, is called a *birth*; and when they speak of the east and west, they say *to windward* and *leeward*.

They do not spend much of their time in amusements. When the business of the day is concluded, they, according to the English custom, sit down to dinner, and generally pass the evening, in conversation, smoking, and drinking. However, they occasionally play at cards, back-gammon, and billiards; the latter of which, from the moderate exercise which it requires, is admirably adapted to a warm climate, and is one of the most healthful, and least pernicious amusements, in which they could possibly engage. In the level parts of the island, they have even sometimes horse-races; but this amusement requiring violent exertion, is neither regular nor frequent. They are passionately fond of horses, and pay great attention to the breed and rearing of this noble animal. Of single horse chaises, which is their favourite mode of conveyance, they have vast numbers.

For hospitality, the inhabitants of Jamaica are honourably distinguished, and cannot be sufficiently praised. In all countries, where strangers are seldom to be seen, where the inhabitants have little intercourse with each other, and where the people are not in a state of absolute barbarism, this virtue is more or less practised; but the Jamaicans not only by their kindness relieve the stranger from any painful sense of dependence, but endeavour to make themselves appear the parties

obliged. They not only practise kindness, but practise it with delicacy. This virtue is one of the most pleasing traits in their character; and as it is universally prevalent, among all ranks, professions, and conditions, it sheds a pleasing lustre over their whole conduct. Few individuals have resided even a short time in this country, without having experienced the truth of this observation, which has been made, or assented to, by all writers on the subject.

We have already seen, that, in their conduct, the inhabitants of Jamaica practise the great duties of religion; but their attention to, and attendance on, its ceremonies, are such, as effectually to excite the pity, or the indignation, of the pious christian. Sunday is generally employed as a day of rest from their usual business and labour; but they neither attend divine service, nor engage in religious exercises. Indeed, if we may judge from extended intercourse, and accurate information, they do not implicitly believe in the great mysteries of the christian religion; and consequently, it is not surprising, that they should neglect, or despise, its ceremonies. But to this general remark, there are, no doubt, numerous exceptions. Their non-attendance on divine service may, perhaps, also be apologized for, by the fewness of churches, there being only about twenty in the whole island. But we will leave this subject for regret, and shall only remark, that if we be inclined to complain, as all good christians ought, of the supineness displayed by men, respecting the ceremonies of religion, we shall have sufficient cause for our sorrow, without wafting ourselves in imagination, across the Atlantic ocean.

NOTES.

(a.) THE Revolution in England, having necessarily raised great numbers of individuals to the rank of officers, from the lowest stations, a kind of equality reigned among the soldiery. The following instance of that equality is a curious fact, and displays equally the republican manners, and uncivilized spirit of that age.

Adjutant-General Jackson, who had been the first to flee during the engagement, was tried by a court-martial, convicted of cowardice, cashiered with ignominy, and condemned *to serve as a SWABBER on board the hospital ship!!*—General Venables, with a naïveté common to the writers of that age, which, though seldom respectable, is always pleasing, makes the following observations on this sentence. After mentioning the terms of it, he adds, “And justly,—for the benefit of the sick and wounded, who owed their sufferings to his misbehaviour. A sentence too gentle for so notorious an offender, against whom some of the colonels made complaint for *whoring* and drunkenness at Barbadoes; but not being able to *prove* the fact, he escaped; though considering his former course of life, the presumptions were *strong*, he and a woman lodging in one chamber, and not any other person with either, *which was enough to induce a belief of his offence*, he, having two wives in England, and standing guilty of forgery; all which I desired Major-General Worsley in joining with me to acquaint his Highness (Cromwell) with, that he might be taken off, and not suffered to go with me, lest he should *bring a curse on us*, as I feared. But his Highness would not hear us.—After this, both perjury and forgery were proved against him, in the case of a colonel or general, at Barbadoes, ruined by him, by that means. Upon the complaint, and with the advice of the said general, I rebuked him privately; which he took so distastefully, that, as it afterwards appeared, he studied and endeavoured nothing but mutiny; and found fit matter to work upon, as with an army that has neither pay nor pillage, arms nor ammunition, nor victuals, is not difficult; but this I came to understand afterwards.” &c.—VEN. NARR.

(b.) Mr. Long informs us, That “a Spanish fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of war (which had been destined to take in soldiers at Carthage, to support the invasion of the island) upon the news of Don Sase's ill success, made the best of

“ their way to the Havannah, and left the coast open to the English fleet ; on board
 “ of which D'Oyley embarked three hundred soldiers, burnt two galleons bound from
 “ Carthagená to Porto Bello, and destroyed the town of Tolu, situated on the coast
 “ of the Spanish main.”

(c.) The following anecdote deserves to be recorded, as it is one of those numerous examples with which history abounds, of that punishment which unjust and cruel actions always merit, being frequently, when least expected, inflicted, in a signal manner, upon the perpetrators of them.

“ The Spanish slaves who had deserted, did likewise good service, many of them
 “ fighting with the greatest courage ; and being sure of an immediate and cruel death,
 “ should they fall into the hands of their old masters, did all that was in their power
 “ against them. Colonel D'Oyley thereupon rewarded some of those, and declared
 “ others free, particularly one who was observed to have a more than ordinary forwardness, and had, with his own hands, killed several Spaniards. It seems this
 “ fellow had been slave to one of the most considerable amongst them, and loved a
 “ young negro [*negress*] to distraction. He had several children by her, and lived
 “ in an uninterrupted course of happiness (if the state of slaves can afford such) when
 “ the old fox, his master, barbarously tore the fond creature from his arms, and
 “ forced her to comply with his own villainous lusts. The husband called on every
 “ power to avenge the rape ; but his passion was ordered to be allayed by the severities of the whip ; he underwent the punishment, but waited revenge ; and having
 “ found opportunity from the late disturbances, got an interview with his once
 “ adored wife, and soon decoyed her to some distance, where he told her his designs
 “ of vengeance, and swore, he still loved her with a too sincere passion, not to be
 “ sensible of what he had lost : But as their happiness was now for ever past, and
 “ the former days of love and purity could not return, he would not live to see her
 “ another's, when she could not be his ; for, however innocent her intention, he
 “ never could take an adulteress to his arms ; and therefore closely embracing her,
 “ plunged a poignard to the heart of the unhappy creature.—‘ Thus,’ says he, ‘ I exert the right of a husband,’ “and after a few caresses, and seeing her breathe,
 “ her last, he fled to the English ; and in all their engagements did them eminent
 “ service, particularly in this last, where the sight of his former tyrant having inflamed his desire of revenge, he flew to the place where he fought, and soon laid
 “ the vile adulterer at his feet. Many others did he also sacrifice to his revenge ;
 “ and behaved so gallantly, that Colonel D'Oyley took particular notice of him,
 “ and, without determining on the justness of his motives, rewarded him nobly,
 “ made him free, and gave him a small piece of ground, which ever after he lived
 “ upon in quiet, but with a thoughtfulness and melancholy, that he could never con-

“ quer. This brave fellow lived to a very great age, and died in the year 1700. He had also a son, who did good service against the French, in 1695, and several times exposed his life in pursuit of the rebellious Negroes.”

A NEW HISTORY OF JAMAICA, 1740, 8vo. Edit. p. 71.

(d.) Sir William Beeston mentions, that in the year 1668, during Sir Thomas Moddiford's administration, who, by his sole authority had twice proclaimed war against the Spaniards, the King (Charles II.) sent out the Oxford frigate, which arrived at Jamaica in October, and brought instructions from his Majesty, to countenance, as much as possible, that war, and empowering the Governor to commission whatever persons he thought proper, to be *partners with his Majesty in the plunder, they finding victuals, wear, and tear.*—“ So that,” says Mr. Long, “ his Majesty entered very seriously into the privateering business, and held this reputable partnership for some years;” and he adds—

*Quid non regalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames?*

(e.) *The following Letter was written by a Gentleman immediately after the Earthquake, and was sent to the Royal Society of London, by Sir HANS SLOANE, Bart.*

JUNE 20, 1692.

“ The terrible Earthquake which happened the 7th instant, between eleven and twelve of the clock at noon, shook down and drowned nine-tenths of the town of Port-Royal in two minutes time, and all by the wharf-side in less than one; very few escaped there. I lost all my people and goods, my wife, and two men, Mrs. B. and her daughter. One white maid escaped, who gave me an account, that her mistress was in her closet, two pair of stairs high, and she was sent into the garret, where was Mrs. B. and her daughter, when she felt the earthquake, and bid her take up her child, and run down; but turning about, met the water at the top of the garret stairs, for the house sunk downright, and is now near thirty feet under water. My son and I went that morning to Liguanea; the earthquake took us in the mid-way between that and Port-Royal, where we were near being overwhelmed by a swift rolling sea, six feet above the surface, without any wind; but it pleased God to save us, being forced back to Liguanea, where I found all houses even with the ground; not a place to put one's head in, but in negro-houses. The earth *continues* to shake five or six times in twenty-four hours, and *often* trembling. Great part of the mountains fell down, and fall daily. I pray God divert those heavy judgments which still threaten us!”

Another Letter, dated SEPTEMBER 20, 1692, relates further particulars.

"I doubt not but you have heard before this of our great calamity; but, however, I will give you the particulars as near as I can. In the first place, great part of Port-Royal is sunk; that, where the wharfs was, is now some fathoms of water. All the street where the church stood is overflowed, that the water stands so high as the upper rooms of those which are standing. The earth, when it opened and swallowed up people, they rose in other streets, some in the middle of the harbour, and yet saved; though, at the same time, I believe, there was lost about 2000 whites and blacks. At the north, about 1000 acres of land sunk, and thirteen people with it; all our houses thrown down all over the island, that we were forced to live in huts. The two great mountains at the entering into Sixteen-mile Walk fell and met, and stopped the river, that it was dry from that place to the Ferry, for a whole day, and vast quantities of fish taken up, which was greatly to the relief of the distressed. At Yellows, a great mountain split, and fell into the level land and covered several settlements, and destroyed nineteen white people. One of the persons, whose name was Hopkins, had his plantation removed half a mile from the place it formerly stood; and now good provisions growing upon it. Of all wells, from a fathom to six or seven, the water flew out at the top, with the great motion of the earth. Since, it has continued shaking sometimes two or three times in a day; so, at night, sometimes more, sometimes less; but God be praised, they are but small. Our people settled a town at Liguanea side, and there is about five hundred graves already, and people every day a-dying still*. I went about once to see it, and I had like to have tipt off. Poor Captain Watson was drowned. All this, I do assure you, is truth; and if I had time, could give an account of many more of the like."

Another Letter contains the following particulars.

"What you desire concerning our earthquake in Jamaica, I will answer as near as I can, to what I saw and heard; Port-Royal being the place where I lived, I shall begin with what I met with there. On Tuesday, the 7th of June, 1692, betwixt eleven and twelve at noon, I being at a tavern, we felt the house shake, and saw the bricks begin to rise in the floor, and at the same instant, heard one in the street cry,

* "Not less than three thousand are computed to have died of disease; the greater part at Kingston only, where five hundred graves were dug in a month's time, and two or three buried in a grave. What rendered the scene more tragical, was, the number of dead bodies, which, after perishing in the shock at Port-Royal, were seen in hundreds floating from one side of the harbour to the other."

An Earthquake! Immediately we ran out of the house, where we saw all people with lifted-up hands, begging God's assistance. We continued running up the street, whilst on either side us, we saw the houses some swallowed up, others thrown on heaps; the sand in the street rise like the waves of the sea, lifting up all persons that stood upon it, and immediately dropping down into pits; and at the same instant, a flood of water breaking in, and rolling those poor souls over and over; some catching hold of beams and rafters of houses; others were found in the sand, that appeared when the water was drained away, with their legs and arms out, we beholding this dismal sight. The small piece of ground whereon sixteen or eighteen of us stood (praised be God) did not sink.

" As soon as the violent shake was over, every man was desirous to know, if any part of his family were left alive. I endeavoured to go towards my house upon the ruins of the houses that were floating upon the water, but could not: At length, I got a canoe, and rowed up the great sea-side towards my house, where I saw several men and women floating upon the wreck out to sea; and as many of them as I could, I took into the boat, and still rowed on, till I came where I thought my house had stood, but could not hear of neither my wife nor family, so returned again to that little part remaining above water. But seeing all people endeavouring to get to the island, I went amongst them, in hopes I might hear of my wife, or some part of my family, but could not. Next morning I went from one ship to another, till, at length, it pleased God that I met with my wife, and two of my Negroes. I then asked her, how she had escaped? She told me, when she felt the house shake, she run out, and called all within to do the same: She was no sooner out, but the sand was lifted up, and her Negro woman grasping about her, they both dropt into the earth together; and, at the same instant the water coming in, rolled them over and over, till, at length, they caught hold of a beam, where they hung, till a boat came from a Spanish vessel, and took them up.

" The houses from the Jews street end to the breast-work; were all shaken down, save only eight or ten that remained from the balcony upwards above water: And as soon as the violent earthquake was over, the watermen and sailors did not stick to plunder those houses; and in the time of their plunder, one or two of them fell upon their heads, where they were lost.

" As soon as the violent shake was over, the minister desired all people to join with him in prayer; and amongst them were several Jews that kneeled, and answered as they did. Nay, I heard one say, they were heard to call upon Jesus Christ: A thing worth observation.

" Several ships and sloops were overset, and lost in the harbour. Among the rest, the Swan frigate, that lay by the wharf to careen, by the violent motion of the sea, and sinking of the wharf, was forced over the tops of many houses; and passing

by that house, where my Lord Puke lived, part of it fell upon her, and beat in her round-house: She did not overset, but helped some hundreds in saving their lives.

"As to the fire-balls which you heard were seen in the air, it was a great falsehood; for I neither saw nor heard (during our month's stay after the earthquake) any such thing; but a great and hideous rumbling was heard in the mountains; inso-much, that it frightened many Negroes that had been run away some months from their masters, and made them come home, and promise not to run away any more.

"The water that issued from the Salt-panns hills, I saw myself, as also Mr. Ashborne, and one Pinnock a quaker, of Liguanea. It forced its passage out from the hill, in (I believe) twenty or thirty several places, some more forcibly than others; for, in eight or ten places, it came with that violence, that had so many sluices been drawn up at once, they could not have run with greater force; and most of them, six or seven yards high from the foot of the hill; three or four of the least of them, we observed, were near ten or twelve yards high in the mountain. We stood some time, in looking on this miraculous sight: At length we tasted the water in most of the places; all which we tasted, we found to be brackish, of which we could not imagine the reason, nor from whence the water should arise. It continued running that afternoon, and all night, till next morning about sun-rise, at which time, the Salt-panns were quite overflowed. Therefore you may judge its force in running, for both Salt-panns and mountain you know very well.

"The time we continued on the island after the earthquake, was at Mr. Bosby's, who had as miraculous an escape, and his wife, as my wife had. He likewise told us, that that afternoon, coming to his plantation, he found the ground opened in several places; and in one, two cows were dropped in, and smothered.

"The weather was much hotter after the earthquake, than before; and such an innumerable quantity of mosquitoes, that the like was never seen, since the inhabiting of the island.

"The mountains at Galloes fared no better than those of Sixteen-mile walk. A great part of one of them falling down, drove all the trees before it; and at the foot of the mountain, there was a plantation, that was wholly overthrown and buried in it."

In another description of this awful concussion, the writer informs us, speaking of Port Royal,

"If this place be nothing but sand, (as some would have it, that are its no well-wishers) it seems strange, that the force of the earthquake did not dissipate and dissolve the very foundation of it, and that it did not fall to pieces and scatter under water, as the rest of the place did; for the shake was so violent, that it threw people

down on their knees, and sometimes on their faces, as they ran along the streets to provide for their safety; and it was a very difficult matter to keep one's legs. The ground heaved and swelled like a rolling sea; (it is a strange comparison, but every body here using it, I venture to do so likewise) by which means, several houses now standing, were shuffled and moved some yards from their places. One whole street (a great many houses whereof are now standing) is said to be twice as broad now as before the earthquake; and in many places, the ground would crack and open, and shut quick and fast: Of which small openings, I have heard Major Kelly and others say, they have seen two or three hundred at one time, in some whereof, many people were swallowed up; some the earth caught by the middle, and squeezed to death; the heads of others only appeared above ground: Some were swallowed quite down, and cast up again by great quantities of water; others went down, and were never more seen. These were the smallest openings: Others that were more large, swallowed up great houses; and out of some gapings would issue whole rivers of water, spouted up a great height into the air, which seemed to threaten a deluge to that part of Port Royal, which the earthquake seemed to favour, accompanied with ill stench and offensive smells, by means of which openings, and the vapours at that time, belched forth from the earth into the air; the sky, which before was clear and blue, was in a minute's time become dull and reddish, looking (as I have heard it compared often) like a red-hot oven: All these dreadful circumstances occurring at once, accompanied all the while with prodigious loud noises from the mountains, occasioned by their falling, &c.; and also a hollow noise under ground, and people running from one place to another, distracted with fear, looking like so many ghosts, and more resembling the dead than the living, made the whole so terrible, that people thought the dissolution of the whole frame of the world was at hand. Indeed, it is enough to raise melancholy thoughts in a man now, to see the chimneys and tops of some houses, and the masts of ships and sloops, which partaked of the same fate, appear above water; and when one first comes ashore, to see so many heaps of ruins, many whereof by their largeness show, that once there had stood a brave house; to see so many houses shattered, some half fallen down, the rest desolate, and without inhabitants; to see where houses have been swallowed up, some appearing half above ground, and of others, the chimnies only; but, above all, to stand on the sea-shore, and to look over that part of the neck of land, which for above a quarter of a mile, was quite swallowed up; there, where once brave streets of stately houses stood, appearing now nothing but water, except here and there a chimney, and some parts and pieces of houses, serving only to mind us of their sad misfortune, now habitations for fish, contrary to the intent of the first builders.

“ And though Port Royal was so great a sufferer by the earthquake, yet it left more houses standing there, than in all the island besides, all over which, it is said to rage more furiously, than at Port Royal; and this seems to be true; for it was so violent in other places, that people could not keep their legs, but were violently thrown down on the ground, where they lay on their faces, with their arms and legs spread out, to prevent being tumbled and thrown about, by the almost incredible motion of the earth, like that, as is the general comparison, of a great sea.

“ It scarce left a planter's house, or sugar-work, standing, all over the island: I think it left not a house standing at Passage-fort, and but one in all Liguanea, and none in St. Jago, except a few low houses built by the wary Spaniards. And it is not to be doubted, but that, had there been five hundred, or five thousand towns in Jamaica, the earthquake would have ruined every one. In several places in the country, the earth gaped prodigiously! On the north side, the planters houses, with greatest part of their plantations, (and the planters houses lie not very near to one another) were swallowed, houses, people, trees, all up in one gape; instead of which, appeared for some time after, a great pool, or lake of water, covering above a thousand acres, which is since dried up, and now is nothing but a loose sand, or gravel, without any the least mark or sign left, whereby one may judge, that there ever had stood a tree, house, or any thing else. In Clarendon precinct, the earth gaped, and spouted up with a prodigious force, great quantities of water into the air, above twelve miles from the sea; and all over the island, there were abundance of gapings, or openings of the earth, many thousands; marks of many whereof, which, upon their closing, they left behind them, any one cannot choose but see, that goes into the country; and I have seen several. But in the mountains are said to be the most violent shakes; and it is a generally received opinion, that the nearer to the mountains, the greater the shake; and that the cause thereof, whatever it is, lies there. Indeed, they are strangely torn and rent; insomuch, that they seem to be of quite different shapes now, from what they were, especially the Blue, and other highest mountains, who seem to be the greatest sufferers; as if, for presuming to make resistance against so strong an enemy, they had fared the worse for it; which, during the time of the first great shake, and as long as the great shakes continued, which was above two months after the first great shake, (during which time, the shakes came very strong and thick, sometimes two or three in an hour) bellowing forth prodigious loud, terrible noises and echoings, as if they were sensible of those dreadful convulsions, which so raged within their bowels, and in so violent a manner, tore and rent them asunder, as if they complained of the cruelties of that great (I believe; I may say, greatest) enemy to nature; threatening to cast this island into its first chaos, or at least, into a new model or shape, different from that which nature first gave it; breaking one mountain, and thereof, making two or

three; and joining two mountains, and making thereof one, closing up the unhappy valley betwixt. And at Yallows particularly, some families who lived betwixt two mountains, were shut up, and buried under them.

“ Not far from which place, part of a mountain, after having made several leaps or moves, overwhelmed a whole family, and great part of a plantation, lying a mile off. And a large high mountain, near Port-Morant, near a day's journey over, is said to be quite swallowed up; and in the place where it stood, there is now a great lake of four or five leagues over. But those things happened in lower mountains. But in the Blue mountains, and its nigh neighbours, from whence came those dreadful roarings, terrible and amazing to all that heard them, may be reasonably supposed to be many strange alterations of the like nature: But those wild desert places, being very rarely, or never, visited by any body, not by Negroes themselves, we are yet ignorant of what happened there; but the astonishing noises that came from thence, and their miserable shattered appearance, appearing half naked, and deprived of their stately ornaments, large aspiring trees, and whereas, they used to afford a fine, green prospect, now one half part of them, at least, seeming to be wholly deprived of their natural verdure, and ornamental coverings, in such sort, that they have not a leaf to cover their nakedness, appearing bare and ragged, in such poor torn shapes, that surely it will put any thoughtful man into a contemplative posture, who shall look at them. There, one may see, where the tops of great mountains have fallen, sweeping down all the trees, and every thing in its way, and making a path quite from top to bottom; and other places, which seem to be peeled and bare, a mile together; which vast pieces of mountains, with all the trees thereon, falling together in a huddled and confused manner, stopped up most of the rivers for about twenty-four hours; which afterwards having found out new passages, brought down into the sea, and this harbour, several hundred thousand tons of timber, (as I have heard computed from the most knowing people there) which would sometimes float in the sea in such prodigious quantities, that they looked like moving islands. I have seen several of those large trees on this shore, all deprived of their bark and branches, and generally very much torn by the rocky passages, through which, by the force of a falling stream, and their own weight, they might be supposed to be driven. One great trunk of a tree particularly, I have seen among the rest, so squeezed, as a sugar-cane after it has passed the mill. Some are of opinion, that the mountains are sunk a little, and are not so high as they were: Others think, the whole island is sunk something by the earthquake. Port Royal is said to be sunk a foot; and in many places in Liguanea, I have been told, are wells, which require not so long a rope to draw water out of them now, as before the earthquake, by two or three feet; which seems a sort of a demonstration, that either the land is sunk, or the sea risen, the former of which

seems most probable. Nor are these all the effects of the earthquake: no. The water had, in some measure, its share, as well as the land. In this harbour, in Port Royal, at the time of the great shake, (though seas very calm) was suddenly raised such a strange emotion in the water, that immediately it swelled as in a storm, great large waves appearing on a sudden, rolling with such force, that they drave most ships (if not all) in the harbour, from their anchors; breaking their cables, to the great hazard of all of them, and to the loss of some small ships and sloops, &c. I heard particularly a master of a large ship of about three hundred tons say, that he then rode with two strong cables, both which, this strange violence of the water brake in an instant; and that he thought he should have lost his ship, which mounted as in a great storm, &c. and so it fared with the rest of the ships; but this was soon over, and in a little time, all smooth again. One Captain Phipps told me, that he and another gentleman happened at the time of the earthquake, to be in Liguanea, by the sea-side; and that at the time of the great shake, the sea retired from the land in such sort, that for two or three hundred yards, the bottom of the sea appeared dry, whereon they saw lie several fish, some whereof, the gentleman who was with him, ran and took up, and in a minute or two's time, the sea returned again, and overflowed great part of the shore. At Yallahouse, the sea is said to retire above a mile.

" 'Tis thought, there were lost in all parts of the island two thousand people; and had the shake happened in the night, very few would have escaped alive; and those that had, would, in all probability, have been knocked in the head by the Negroes, and the island, to all intents and purposes, quite ruined.

" Since my arrival here, I have felt several shakes; the first and greatest whereof, was on Good-Friday; it lifted me completely off my chair, and set me on my legs, and was said to be a small shake; but I did not then hear the noise (minding something else) which always immediately foreruns, or rather, accompanies it, but have since felt several less shakes, and heard the noise often, which is very loud, and may be easily taken, by those not used to hear it, for a rustling wind, or for a hollow rumbling thunder; but hath some puffing blasts peculiar to itself, and are most like those of a match made of brimstone, when lighted, but of a much greater degree, and such as a large magazine of brimstone may be supposed to make, when on fire; it is also accompanied with a noise, which may be pretty well imitated, by putting the tongue to the roof of the mouth, and in a whispering hollow tone, loudly pronouncing hur'r r r r r, whereby it is easily distinguished from either wind or thunder; and people are generally running out of their houses before the shake comes, and then the noise seems to come from below, and to be just under one's feet, which makes the trembling of the earth more terrible than it otherwise would be. It is observable,

that every small shake is felt on ship-board, as sensibly as on shore; the water shaking, as well as the land.

“ After the great shake, those people that escaped (as many as could) got on board the ships in the harbour, where many continued about two months after; the shakes, all that time, being so violent, and coming so thick, sometimes two or three in an hour's time, accompanied with frightful noises, both from under the earth, and from the continual falling and breaking of the mountains, that they dared not come ashore. Others went to the place called Kingstown (or, by others, Kihcown) where, from the first clearing of the ground, and from bad accommodations, their huts built with boughs, and not sufficient to keep out rain, which in great and an unusual manner, followed the earthquake, lying wet, and wanting medicines, and all conveniences, &c. they died miserably in heaps. Indeed, there was a general sickness (supposed to proceed from the hurtful vapours belched from the many openings of the earth) all over the island, so general, that few escaped, being sick; and 'tis thought, it swept away in all parts of the island three thousand souls; the greatest part from Kingstown only, yet an unhealthy place. Besides the great quantities of dead people floating from one side of the harbour to the other, as the sea and land breezes blew them, *sometimes a hundred or two hundred in a heap*, may be thought to add something to the unhealthfulness of this place.

PHIL. TRAN. vol. xviii. p. 83, et seq.

(f.) Several small settlements belonging to Britain, but not of sufficient importance to form distinct colonies, are usually denominated, dependencies of Jamaica.

1. The Caymanas.
2. Musquito Shore.
3. Black River.
4. Honduras.
5. Ruattan or Rattan.
6. Campeache.

But it is not deemed necessary to enter into any particular account of the state of these settlements, as they do not appear to the writer of these pages to be any more connected with the history of Jamaica, than the islands of Jersey and Guernsey are with that of England.

(g.) This parish contains two beautiful cascades, and a remarkable grotto, the latter of which Mr. Long visited, and which he thus describes:

“ The grotto in this parish, near Dry Harbour, and about fourteen miles west from St. Ann's Bay, is situated at the foot of a rocky hill, under which it runs for

“ a considerable way, and then branches into several adits, some of which penetrate
 “ so far, that no person has yet ventured to discover their ending. The front is
 “ extremely gothic in its appearance. It is the perpendicular face of a rock, having
 “ two arched entrances about twenty feet asunder, which look as if they had an-
 “ ciently been door-ways, but sunk by time or accident to within two or three feet
 “ of their lintels. In the centre of the rock, between these portals, is a natural
 “ niche, about four feet in height, and as many from the ground, which might well
 “ be supposed intended for the reception of a Madonna, especially as at the foot of it
 “ is a small excavation or bason, projected a little beyond the surface of the rock;
 “ which seems a very proper reservoir for holy water.—Excited by the accounts I
 “ had heard of this celebrated curiosity, I made one among a party to visit it.
 “ After providing ourselves with several bundles of candle-wood, split in small
 “ pieces, we crept on our hands and knees under the larger of the two apertures in
 “ the front of the rock, and immediately found ourselves in a circular vestibule, of
 “ about eighteen feet diameter, and fourteen in height. The ceiling (an irregular
 “ concave) as well as the sides, was covered with stalactic and sparry matter, inter-
 “ spersed with innumerable glistening particles, which, reflecting the light of our
 “ torches from their polished surface, exhibited the most rich and splendid appear-
 “ ance imaginable.

“ This roof seemed to be supported by several columns of the same matter, con-
 “ creted by length of time; whose chaptrals, and the angular arches above, appeared
 “ in the true gothic taste. The pillars surrounded the vestibule; the open spaces
 “ between them led into avenues which diverged away into different parts of this
 “ subterraneous labyrinth. On one side we observed a rock, which, by the con-
 “ tinual dripping of water upon it from the ceiling, was covered with an incrustation,
 “ and bore a very striking resemblance of some venerable old hermit; sitting in pro-
 “ found meditation, wrapped in a flowing robe, his arms folded, and a beard
 “ descending to his waist. The head appeared bald, and the forehead wrinkled with
 “ age. Nothing was wanting to complete the figure, except the addition of features,
 “ which we immediately supplied in the theatric manner with a piece of charcoal.
 “ The graceful, easy folds and plaits of the drapery, and the wavy flow of the beard,
 “ were remarkably well expressed. Roubillion, the rival of nature, could not have
 “ executed them in a more finished and masterly stile. After we had sufficiently
 “ contemplated this reverend personage, we pursued our route through one of the
 “ largest adits. We found the passage, every where of good height, in general from
 “ twelve to fifteen feet; but so totally excluded from day-light, that the gloom,
 “ together with the hollow sound of our trampling, and dismal echo of our voices,
 “ recalled to our minds, the well-imagined description of Eneas's descent into

“ the infernal regions. And this idea so strongly possessed us, that, in the enthusiasm of poetic delusion, we expected no less, at every turn, than to pop upon Cerberus, or some other horrid inhabitant of Pluto’s dominion.

Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu,
 Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro, nemorumque tenebris.——
 Ibant obscuri solâ sub nocte per umbram,
 Perque domos ditis vacuas, et inania regna,
 Quale per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ
 Est iter in silvis; ubi cœlum condidit umbrâ
 Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

“ Deep, deep, the cavern lies, devoid of light,
 “ All rough with rocks, and horrible to sight.
 “ Its dreadful mouth is fenced with sable floods,
 “ And the brown horrors of surrounding woods.
 “ Now through the dismal gloom they pass, and tread
 “ Grim Pluto’s courts, the regions of the dead;
 “ As puzzled travellers bewildered move
 “ (The moon scarce glimmering through the dusky grove,)
 “ When Jove from mortal eyes has snatched the light,
 “ And wrapp’d the world in undistinguish’d night.” PITT.

“ That the comparison might have appeared more just, I ought to have premised,
 “ that the grotto is surrounded with a thick wood, and that, at a small distance
 “ before the entrance, is a large lagoon of stagnant water. The critic, perhaps,
 “ may object, that we were not so intirely in the dark, as Eneas is represented.
 “ But if he pleases, he may allow the dim light of our torch to bear some similitude
 “ to the glimmering of the moon above-mentioned; and then it will seem more
 “ aptly applied. The soil beneath our feet, we perceived, was deep, soft, and
 “ yielding, and had a faint cadaverous smell. Upon examination, we imagined
 “ it to be a *congeries* of bat’s dung, accumulating perhaps, for ages past; and were
 “ further confirmed in this opinion, by the multitude of these creatures, which,
 “ upon the disturbances of our torch-light, and the unusual noise of so many
 “ visitors, flitted in numerous swarms over our heads. It is probable this soil is
 “ strongly impregnated with nitre; but we had not time to search for it. After
 “ walking a considerable way, we observed many new adits branching from the
 “ sides. Our guide informed us, that they led several miles under ground, and
 “ that one half of them had never been explored by any human being. Soon after,
 “ we came all on a sudden, to a little precipice of about four or five feet; and some

“ of the party would have hurt themselves very severely, if it had not been for the
 “ soft *stratum* of bat's dung, which lay below, ready to receive them. Our guide,
 “ and two or three of the foremost, disappeared in an instant, having tumbled one
 “ over the other; but soon recovered from their surprise, when they found them-
 “ selves unhurt. The rest, who followed at some little distance, being put on their
 “ guard, descended with somewhat less rapidity. We continued our walk without
 “ further interruption, till we hailed the day-light again, in an open area, environed
 “ on all sides, with steep rocks covered with trees.

“ This area, as nearly as we could conjecture, lies about a quarter of a mile from
 “ the entrance of the grotto. We remarked several adits leading from different
 “ parts of this little court; but our guide was acquainted with one of them only,
 “ into which we walked, and came into a magnificent apartment, or rotunda, of
 “ about twenty-five feet diameter, and about eighteen to the dome, or vaulted
 “ ceiling; from the centre of which descended a strait tap-root of some tree above,
 “ about the size of a cable, and pretty uniform in shape from top to bottom. This
 “ had made its way through a cleft in the rock, and penetrated downward quite into
 “ the floor of the apartment. On one side was a small chasm, opening like the
 “ door-way of a closet into a narrow passage, which our guide endeavoured to
 “ dissuade us from entering, on account of a deep well, which, he informed us,
 “ lay a few paces within. However, we ventured in a little way with great cau-
 “ tion, and found his account very true. The passage grew more and more con-
 “ tracted, till we met with a thin upright ledge of rock, rising like a parapet-wall,
 “ almost breast-high, which seemed to decline gradually lower as we advanced.
 “ We therefore thought it prudent to halt, and soon discovered the ledge of rock
 “ separated us from a vast cavernous hollow, or well. Having no line, we could
 “ not sound the depth of the water, nor how far it lay beneath us; but, by the fall
 “ of some stones we threw in, we judged the distance to the water, about thirty or
 “ forty feet. The stones in their fall produced a most horrid hoarse noise, as loud
 “ as hell's porter uttered from his triple jaws, *primis in forcibus orci*. Our guide
 “ informed us, it was unfathomable, and communicated with the sea. The latter
 “ is probable, as the entrance of the grotto is very near the coast. We returned
 “ across the area by the way that we came, only peeping into a few of the other
 “ avenues as we proceeded, which we found very little different. They had the like
 “ rude ceilings incrustated with stalactites, here and there interspersed with the radical
 “ fibres of trees and plants, and their walks strewed with various seeds and fruits,
 “ particularly the bread-nut, in great abundance; and even some reptiles, all curi-
 “ ously covered with incrustations, but still preserving their original shapes. The
 “ structure and furniture of these various cloisters and apartments, at the same time
 “ that they excite the utmost curiosity, baffle all description. In some we saw, or

" fancied we saw, sparkling icicles, and beautifully variegated foliage, gemmy ca-
 " nopies, festoons, thrones, rostrums, busts, skulls, pillars, pilasters, basons, and
 " a thousand other semblances of such objects as struck our different imaginations.
 " Most of the arches and columns seemed to be composed internally of a greyish,
 " sonorous marble, and were extravagantly wild and curious. Some are perfect,
 " and sustain the massy superstructure; others half formed; and some in their very
 " infant state. Several of the apartments are cellular; others, spacious and airy,
 " having here and there an eye-let hole to the world above. These aerial communi-
 " cations are of signal service, for, although not, in general, large enough to admit
 " much light, yet they introduce sufficient fresh air to expel noxious vapours, and
 " afford a convenient respiration, except in those parts which are most reclusé.
 " The exterior summit of the cave is a greyish rock, honey-combed all over, full of
 " crannies, and thick-set with various species of trees, whose roots having pene-
 " trated wheresoever they could find an opening, they flourish without any visible
 " soil, an appearance which is extremely common in the island. We were anxious
 " to investigate further; but, upon examining our stock of torch-wood, we found
 " scarcely sufficient left for conducting us back to the entrance, and we were obliged
 " to use dispatch in regaining it, for fear of rambling into some one of the numerous
 " passages opening to the right and left, where, puzzled with mazes, and perplexed
 " with errors, we might have rambled on without the probability of ever finding our
 " way out again: and, in such a distressful event, we could not reasonably have
 " expected any human assistance. The famous Cretan labyrinth did not, I am per-
 " suaded, contain half the turns and windings which branch through every part of
 " this infernal wilderness; and which, even Theseus, with the help of his clue,
 " would have found difficult to unravel. Whoever may have the curiosity to exa-
 " mine these meanders with more attention, and to discover their extent and termi-
 " nation, ought to furnish himself with the implements necessary for striking fire, a
 " portable mariner's compass, a proper quantity of wax tapers, and some provision
 " for the stomach. Thus equipped, he may pervade them without fear of being
 " lost, if he walks with due circumspection: the impression of his feet on the soft
 " mould, which is thick-strewed in these passages, might enable him to re-trace his
 " own track, almost without the assistance of a compass; though to avoid the possi-
 " bility of being bewildered, it will be advisable to carry one," &c.—VOL. 2, p. 100.

(h.) " At the first settlement of the Windward Islands, and for some time after,
 " all payments, even the governor's and clergymen's salaries, the public and paro-
 " chial taxes, were paid in pounds' weight of sugar, for they had no coin."

(i.) Mr. Long, after mentioning a case of singular atrocity, in which the

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deputies of the provost-marshal were guilty of the most shameful injustice to a poor debtor, observes; "The very property which the creditor, through motives of
 "humanity or friendship, forbears to seize, is unjustly attacked and dissipated by
 "one, who is no creditor, nor has any foundation for his claim, except that of
 "fraud, rapine, and the *insolence of office!* Is such a wretch," (exclaims the learned historian) "less deserving of capital punishment, than a common housebreaker?
 "He is a robber of the vilest species, who degrades humanity, and dishonours the
 "dignity and equity of executive justice in a free government, by a conduct so
 "lawless and barbarous; who shuts up the avenues of lenity, and steals from the
 "poor settler in the colony, the hard-earned fruits of industry.—Debtors and
 "creditors may be ruined, with their families; the first, by their effects being sold
 "for a trifle, and the latter, by losing the greater part, if not all their debt, as the
 "amount of that trifling sale may be swallowed up in fees and extortion. With a
 "cunning and address capable of evading the penalties of the law, and a hardness
 "to attempt and perpetrate every villainy that such distresses give opportunity
 "to act, what vast riches may not an under-officer amass to himself, and in how
 "short a time! May not Negroes, and other effects, be seized and set up to sale, in
 "such a manner as to conform to the letter, though not the intentions, of the law,
 "and sold for one half, nay, a quarter, of their real value, and be purchased at that
 "rate by the officer, or his accomplices, in the morning, and disposed of again
 "before night, with a gain of four times the sum he paid for them; and the money
 "for which these effects were first sold, not paid to the proper creditor, but to that
 "creditor, who gave the largest bribe, perhaps one half to get the other half? In
 "this way, it is not difficult to account, how an under-officer may acquire a large
 "fortune in a few years, who, on his entrance into office, was worth less than
 "nothing*."—The office of provost-marshal is generally held by a gentleman of
 honour, fortune, and probity; but it too frequently happens, that the underlings of
 office, men destitute of education and feeling, are appointed deputy-m Marshals in the
 different parishes, where they, shark like, swallow all the property within the reach
 of their rapacious jaws. As soon as they have secured a little property, they gene-
 rally leave the island, where they cannot be expected to be popular, and return to
 Europe, where they enjoy that rank in society, which is never refused to those who
 enjoy wealth, however it may have been acquired.

* One would think Mr. Long was irritated, whenever he happens to mention the deputy provost-marshals. Speaking of the priority-law, he calls them "a set of profligate wretches;" and adds, "This law encourages, and tends to multiply the host of petty-foggers, that generation of vermin, who are bred in knavery, and nourished by corruption, who fatten on the distresses of mankind, and, like stalking horses, delude the unwary into shipwreck, that they may strip and rife them." Vol. 1. Page 393.

(k.) *An Account of the Total Amount of EXPORTS of the chief Produce of Jamaica for the Years undermentioned.*

Year.	Sugar.			Rum.		Ginger.		Pimento.		Bags of Cotton.	lbs. of Coffee.
	Hogsheads.	Tierces.	Barrels.	Punchons.	Hogsheads.	Casks.	Bags.	Casks.	Bags.		
1793	77,575	6,722	642	34,755	879	62	8,605	420	9,108	13,029	3,983,576
1794	89,532	11,158	1,224	39,843	1,570	121	10,305	554	22,153	16,842	4,911,549
1795	88,851	9,537	1,225	37,684	1,475	426	14,861	957	20,451	17,766	6,318,812
1796	89,219	10,700	858	40,810	1,364	690	20,275	136	9,820	9,903	7,203,539
1797	78,373	9,963	753	28,014	1,463	259	29,098	328	2,935		7,931,621
1798	87,896	11,725	1,163	40,823	2,234	119	18,454	1,181	8,961	2,859	7,894,306
1799	101,457	13,538	1,321	37,022	1,981	221	10,358	1,766	28,273	30,693	11,745,425
1800	96,347	13,549	1,631	37,166	1,350	444	3,580	610	12,759		11,116,474
1801	123,251	18,704	2,692	48,879	1,514	12	239	648	14,084		13,401,468
1802*	129,544	15,405	2,403	45,632	2,073	23	2,079	591	7,793		17,961,923

* This note, and the two following, are to be found in Dallas's History of the Maroon War;—an excellent work, already referred to, and characterized.

(l.) *An Enumeration of other EXPORTS, confined to the Year 1799.*

Logwood and fustick, 13,704 tons.
 Logs and planks of mahogany, 2,876.
 Gum guaiacum, 62 casks and boxes.
 Indian arrow root, 24 casks and boxes.
 Castor oil, 236 casks.
 Turmeric, 397 bags.
 Lancewood spars, 2,230.
 Ebony, 21 tons.
 Hides, 38,379.
 Supple-jacks, 822 bundles

Oil nuts, 10 casks.
 Indigo, 19 casks.
 Sharub, 29 casks.
 Cocoa, 468 casks, 9,055 bags.
 Cow horns, 7,130.
 Lignumvitæ, 67 tons.
 Goat skins, 46.
 Melasses, 420 casks.
 Planks of yellow sanders, 39.
 Barrels of fruit, 910.

(m.) Estimate of the WAYS and MEANS for 1802.

Poll-tax,	£.140,000	0	0
Ditto, arrears of 1801,	18,000	0	0
Deficiency, two quarters of 1802, } and arrears of 1801, }	25,000	0	0
Land-tax,	42,000	0	0
Ditto, arrears of 1801,	1,500	0	0
Negro duties,	50,000	0	0
Rum duties,	8,000	0	0
Additional duties,	7,500	0	0
Arrears of former year's taxes,	20,000	0	0
Surplus of revenue,	16,000	0	0
Stamp duties,	38,000	0	0
Debts,	1,000	0	0
Fees on private bills,	200	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£.367,200	0	0
Balance of cash,	202,005	3	4
	<hr/>		
	£.569,205	3	4

A summary of the Returns of IMPORTS and EXPORTS presented to the Honourable House of Assembly of Jamaica, on the 10th of November 1802, by the Naval Officer.

To Great Britain—58,155 hhds. 5,722 tierces, 726 barrels of sugar; 10,923 puncheons, 539 hhds. of rum; 28 bags, 16 casks of ginger; 2,221 bags, 426 casks of pimento; 65,921 bags of coffee.

To Ireland—2,186 hhds. 442 tierces, 952 barrels of sugar; 1,522 puncheons, 196 hhds. of rum; 5 bags, 20 casks of pimento; 65,921 bags of coffee.

To the British Plantations—112 hhds. 3 tierces, 273 barrels of sugar; 1,511 puncheons, 158 hhds. of rum; 11 casks of pimento; 41,381 bags of coffee.

To the United States—776 hhds. 105 tierces, 246 barrels of sugar; 2,980 puncheons, 26 hhds. of rum; 695 bags, 6 casks of ginger; 185 bags, 17 casks of pimento; 1,083,821 bags of coffee.

To the Spanish Main—564 puncheons, 296 hhds. 473 barrels, and 205 kegs of rum.

Total from this port—61,229 hhds. 6,272 tierces, 2,197 barrels of sugar; 17,520 puncheons, 1,217 hhds. 473 barrels, 205 kegs of rum; 723 bags, 22 casks of ginger; 2,411 bags, 474 casks of pimento; 12,799,595 lbs. of coffee.

From the Out-Ports.

To Great Britain—87,726 hhds. 8,893 tierces, 120 barrels of sugar; 15,985 puncheons, 773 hhds. of rum; 809 bags, 1 cask of ginger; 3,715 bags, 113 casks of pimento; 5,103,119 lbs of coffee.

To the British Plantations—130 hhds. 75 tierces, 12 barrels of sugar; 1,393 puncheons, 70 hhds. of rum; 60 casks of molasses; 14,264 lbs. of coffee.

To the United States—459 hhds. 165 tierces, 74 barrels of sugar; 10,790 puncheons, 13 hhds. of rum; 306 casks of molasses; 1,047 bags of ginger; 1,667 bags, 4 casks of pimento; 44,945 lbs. of coffee.

To the Spanish Main—4 puncheons of rum.

Total from the Out-Ports—68,315 hhds. 9,133 tierces, 206 barrels of sugar; 28,112 puncheons, 856 hhds. of rum; 366 casks of molasses; 1,856 bags, 1 cask of ginger; 5,382 bags, 117 casks of pimento; 5,162,323 lbs. of coffee.

Grand total—129,544 hhds. 15,406 tierces, 2,403 barrels of sugar; 45,632 puncheons, 2,073 hhds. 473 barrels, 205 kegs of rum; 366 casks of molasses; 2,079 bags, 23 casks of ginger; 7,793 bags, 591 casks of pimento; 17,961,923 lbs. of coffee.

The increase, since last year, is about 4,000 hhds. of sugar; 4,560,455 lbs. of coffee; 1,840 bags of ginger.

The decrease, about 3,000 puncheons of rum; 6,291 bags. 57 casks of pimento.

Account of Horses, Cattle, &c. imported into this Island during the same Period, viz.

To this port—1,207 horses, 2,343 mules, 137 asses, 2,188 horned cattle.

To the Out-ports—1,163 horses, 84 mules, 3 asses, 2,431 horned cattle.

Total imported—2,370 horses, 2,427 mules, 140 asses, 4,619 horned cattle.

The increase, since last year, 139 horned cattle.

The decrease, 76 horses, 2,032 mules, 50 asses.

*An Account of Provisions, Lumber, &c. imported into this Island
from the United States of America during the same Period.*

In American bottoms—87,635 barrels of flour; 17,083 bags, 9,818 barrels, 3,834 kegs of bread; 2,331 tierces, 403 half-tierces of rice; 1,104 casks, 10,952 barrels, 1,123 kegs, 1,165 boxes of fish; 2,025 barrels of beef; 6,931 barrels of pork; 2,214 firkins of butter; 10,773,897 feet of lumber; 14,107,584 staves and heading; 2,827,800 shingles; 2,717 barrels, 10,413 bushels of pease; 174 casks, 108,640 bushels of corn.

Total imported in British Bottoms.

16,727 barrels of flour; 1,712 bags, 878 barrels, 400 kegs, 15 quintals of bread; 1,089 tierces, 322 half-tierces of rice; 191 casks, 2,172 barrels, 329 kegs, 87 boxes of fish; 377 barrels of beef; 1,873 barrels of pork; 178 firkins of butter; 1,430,722 feet of lumber; 1,566,241 staves and heading; 627,050 shingles; 199 barrels, 296 bushels of pease; 63 casks, 14,037 bushels of corn.

Total imported from the United States.

104,362 barrels of flour; 18,795 bags, 10,696 barrels, 4,234 kegs, 15 quintals of fish; 3,420 tierces, 725 half-tierces of rice; 1,295 casks, 13,124 barrels, 1,452 kegs, 1,452 boxes of fish; 2,402 barrels of beef; 8,804 barrels of pork; 2,392 firkins of butter; 12,204,619 feet of lumber; 15,673,825 staves and heading; 9,464,350 shingles, 2,916 barrels, 19,714 bushels of pease; 237 casks, 122,647 bushels of corn.

*Produce exported to the United States of America during the same
Period.*

American vessels—12,328 puncheons, 25 hhds. of rum; 257 casks of melasses.

Total exported in British Vessels.

1,235 hhds. 270 tierces, 320 barrels of sugar; 1,382 puncheons, 14 hhds. of rum; 49 casks of melasses; 1,742 bags, 6 casks of ginger; 1,852 bags, 21 casks of pimento; 1,128,766 lbs. of coffee.

Total exported to the United States.

1,235 hhds. 270 tierces, 320 barrels of sugar; 13,710 puncheons, 99 hhds. of rum; 306 casks of melasses; 1,742 bags, 6 casks of ginger; 1,852 bags, 21 casks of pimento; 1,128,766 lbs. of coffee.

(n.) In England, the carat is called the twenty-fourth part of the weight of gold coin or plate; because twenty-two carats of fine gold, and two carats of copper or silver, melted together, form the standard of sterling gold; the purity of which is fixed at twenty-four carats, including both metals, though it is usually denominated gold of twenty-two carats.

The standard of sterling silver consists of eleven ounces two penny-weights of fine silver, and eighteen penny-weights of copper. The laws of Jamaica have adhered to this standard, and enacted, that no goldsmith, &c. shall make, sell, or exchange, any gold or silver plate of less fineness. The governor is empowered to appoint an assay-master, who is to stamp all the island-made wares of these metals, with the initial letters of his name, and an alligator's head; and he is intitled, by way of fee, to demand twelve shillings and sixpence for a gold, and seven shillings and sixpence for a silver assay.

The two following tables may be useful in making computations, betwixt the value of the current money of the mother country, and of this island.

TABLE I.

Jamaica Currency reduced to Sterling.

Currency. Sterling.					Currency. Sterling.				Currency. Sterling.			
£.	£.	s.	d.	q.	s.	s.	d.	q.	d.	d.	q.	tenths
1		14	3	2	1	0	8	2	1	0	3	0
2	1	8	6	3	2	1	5	1	2	1	2	0
3	2	2	10	1	3	2	1	3	3	1	0	0
4	2	17	1	3	4	2	10	1	4	2	3	0
5	3	11	5	1	5	3	6	3	5	3	2	0
6	4	5	8	2	6	4	3	2	6	4	1	0
7	5	0	0	0	7	5	0	0	7	5	0	0
8	5	14	3	2	8	5	8	2	8	5	3	0
9	6	8	6	3	9	6	5	1	9	6	2	0
10	7	2	10	1	10	7	1	3	10	7	1	0
20	14	5	8	2	11	7	10	1	11	7	3	0
30	21	8	6	3	12	8	6	3	12	8	1	0
40	28	11	5	1	13	9	3	2	13	9	1	4
50	35	14	3	2	14	10	0	0	14	10	0	0
60	42	17	1	3	15	10	8	2	15	10	8	2
70	50	0	0	0	16	11	5	1	16	11	5	1
80	57	2	10	1	17	12	1	3	17	12	1	3
90	64	5	8	2	18	12	10	2	18	12	10	2
100	71	8	6	3	19	13	6	3	19	13	6	3
200	142	17	1	3								
300	214	5	8	2								
400	285	14	3	2								
500	357	2	10	1								

TABLE II.

Sterling reduced to Jamaica Currency.—Exchange 140.

Sterling.			Currency.			Sterling.			Currency.			Sterling.			Currency.			
£.	£.	s.	s.	£.	s.	d.	q.	d.	s.	d.	q. tenths	d.	s.	d.	q. tenths	d.	s.	d.
1	1	8	1	0	1	4	3	1	0	1	1	6						
2	2	16	2	0	2	9	2	2	0	2	3	2						
3	4	4	3	0	4	2	2	3	0	4	0	8						
4	5	12	4	0	5	7	1	4	0	5	2	4						
5	7	0	5	0	7	0	0	5	0	7	0	0						
6	8	8	6	0	8	4	3	6	0	8	1	6						
7	9	16	7	0	9	9	2	7	0	9	3	9						
8	11	4	8	0	11	2	2	8	0	11	0	8						
9	12	12	9	0	12	7	1	9	1	0	2	4						
10	14	0	10	0	14	0	0	10	1	2	0	0						
20	28	0	11	0	15	4	3	11	1	3	1	6						
30	42	0	12	0	16	9	2	$\frac{1}{4}$			1	4						
40	56	0	13	0	18	2	2	$\frac{1}{2}$			2	8						
50	70	0	14	0	19	7	1	$\frac{3}{4}$			1	0	2					
60	84	0	15	1	1	0	0											
70	98	0	16	1	2	4	3											
80	112	0	17	1	3	9	2											
90	126	0	18	1	5	2	2											
100	140	0	19	1	6	7	1											
200	280	0																
300	420	0																
400	560	0																
500	700	0																

(e.) " The practice of the English in keeping their walks constantly clear of grass and weeds, and cutting down all the trees in the neighbourhood, which were necessary to give shelter, entirely contrary to the custom of the Spaniards, has been assigned as the chief cause of their failing, even after they began to bear. I find the following remarkable entry in the journal kept by Sir William Beeston.

" 1664. Dec. 4. About this day appeared first the comet, which was the fore-runner of the blasting of the cacao trees; and after which time, they generally failed in Jamaica, Cuba, and Hispaniola."

Traphams says, " The north side is most proper for this tree, the rains falling there most opportunely for it; but that the rains on the south side being deficient

" about the period of its bearing, it pines for want of due moisture. Many, or
 " most of the Spanish walks were on the south side; but as it is certain, that the
 " seasons have altered since their time, so this may be thought a further cause of
 " the failure of such walks in these drier parts of the island."—LONG'S HIST. Vol.
 " 1. Page 60].

(p.) The two following are specimens of their poetical compositions of this nature.

As soon as the vessel in which the author was passenger arrived near to Port Royal in Jamaica, a canoe, containing three or four black females, came to the side of the ship, for the purpose of selling oranges, and other fruits. When about to depart, they gazed at the passengers, whose number seemed to surprise them; and as soon as the canoe pushed off, one of them sung the following words, while the others joined in the chorus, clapping their hands regularly, while it lasted.

New-come buckra,
 He get sick,
 He tak fever,
 He be die;
 He be die.
 New come, &c.

The song, as far as we could hear, contained nothing else, and they continued singing it, in the manner just mentioned, as long as they were within hearing.

The following was, in the year 1799, frequently sung in the streets of Kingston :

One, two, tree,
 All de same;
 Black, white, brown,
 All de same:
 All de same.
 One, two, &c.

(q.) Mr. Long, in his history of Jamaica, a valuable, though too voluminous, work, after recommending the encouragement of soldiers to settle in the uncultivated districts of the island, proceeds, as follows :

" As an example what industry may do here, when properly supported at the
 " first settling, I shall relate the following fact. A man, with his family, consisting

“ of a wife, some children, and a few Negroes, (twelve, I think, or fourteen)
 “ came from Barbadoes, and obtained some woodland in the eastern division of the
 “ island, not many years ago. Upon this small foundation, and by indefatigable
 “ labour and œconomy, he formed two exceedingly valuable sugar plantations, one
 “ of which he bestowed upon his son, and became able to give a very handsome
 “ provision to each of his other children. I believe he is still living, and not only
 “ enjoys the happiness of an easy fortune of his own acquiring, but the further
 “ comfortable reflection, of having raised his numerous family from a state of indi-
 “ gence to affluent circumstances.——What advantages of internal strength and
 “ solid security, what an enlargement to their exports, what aids in taxation, might
 “ they” (meaning the members of the house of assembly) “ have possessed at this
 “ hour, if one hundred thousand pounds of the money annually lavished away upon
 “ a still unfinished battery, stuck into a quagmire, at the entrance of Kingston
 “ harbour, had been judiciously expended, in forming a more necessary and durable
 “ bulwark, by the introduction and support of honest, industrious families, in
 “ those pathless districts of the island, which as yet have no other inhabitants,
 “ except trees, runaway slaves, and wild hogs!——Every real and disinterested
 “ well-wisher to this colony, must anxiously desire to see the time, when the
 “ assembly shall awake to a sense of their true interest, and expend the public
 “ money upon such other schemes of defence, as promise to yield an adequate
 “ return, by the increase of people, of settlements, of products, and commerce; of
 “ wealth, and genuine security.”——Mr. Long proceeds (P. 428, Vol. I.) to
 consider several acts which were formerly passed by the legislature of Jamaica, for
 the encouragement of European settlers with their families, and proposes a plan of
 his own, for this useful purpose. Surely, the legislators of this valuable island will
now turn their attention to a subject, which, from the political situation of the
 western islands, is become of the highest importance.

(r.) Sir Hans Sloane says, speaking of the longevity of the inhabitants of
 Jamaica, that when he was there in the year 1688, he knew Negroes who were one
 hundred and twenty years old; and that it was, at that time, very common for such
 of them as lived temperately, to attain the age of one hundred years. Mr. Long, in
 his history informs us, that he remembered three white inhabitants, each of whom
 exceeded one hundred years of age; and he adds, “ these persons were not, as in
 “ northern countries, decrepid, or bed-ridden, but lively, and able to stir about;
 “ their appetite good, and their faculties moderately sound.”

Mr. Long remarks with considerable *naïveté*, and not a little truth, that “ The
 “ European keeps late hours at night; lounges a-bed in the morning; gormandizes
 “ at dinner on loads of flesh, fish, and fruits; loves poignant sauces; dilutes with

“ ale, porter, punch, claret, and madeira, frequently jumbling all together; and
 “ continues this mode of living, till, by constantly manuring his stomach with such
 “ an heterogeneous compost, he has laid the foundation for a plentiful crop of
 “ ailments. Not that this portrait serves for all of them: there are many who act
 “ on a more rational plan; though almost all transgress in some point or other.
 “ They who have attained to the greatest age here, were always early risers, tempe-
 “ rate livers in general, inured to moderate exercise, and avoiders of excess in
 “ eating.”—Vol. 1, Pag. 375.

APPENDIX, No. 1.

An Act to repeal an Act, intituled, “ An Act to repeal several Acts and Clauses of Acts respecting Slaves, and for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and for other Purposes;” and also to repeal the several Acts and Clauses of Acts, which were repealed by the Act intituled as aforesaid; and for consolidating, and bringing into one Act, the several Laws relating to Slaves, and for giving them further Protection and Security; for altering the Mode of Trial of Slaves charged with capital Offences; and for other Purposes.

[Sect. I. Preamble. Laws and clauses of laws to be repealed.—II. Proprietors, &c. to allot land for every slave, and to allow him to cultivate it.—III. Slaves otherwise provided for.—IV. Owners obliged to provide for disabled slaves.—V. Slaves to be clothed by their owner once a year.—VI. Owners to instruct slaves in the Christian religion.—VII. Owners to give in an account of provision-ground.—VIII. Premium to slaves for informing on runaways, &c.—IX. The killing or apprehending rebellious slaves rewarded.—X. Persons mutilating slaves fined and imprisoned. Mutilated slaves, in certain cases declared free. Justices to inquire into such mutilations, and prosecute the offenders. Owners sued for costs.—XI. Justices to issue their warrants to bring mutilated slaves before them.—XII. Persons wilfully killing slaves to suffer death.—XIII. Persons cruelly beating slaves, how punishable.—XIV. Arbitrary punishment restrained.—XV. Putting iron collars or other chains on slaves, prohibited.—XVI. Justices and vestry to support disabled negroes. How such slaves are disposed of.—XVII. Owners must not allow their slaves to travel without tickets under penalty. Penalty on neglect of duty.—XVIII. Slaves allowed holidays.—XIX. Slaves allowed one day in every fortnight.—XX. Time allowed for breakfast, &c.—XXI. Penalty for suffering unlawful assemblies of slaves.—XXII. Civil or military officers to suppress such assemblies.—XXIII. Overseers, &c. who suffer such assemblies, to be imprisoned. Proviso.—XXIV. Negro burials to be in day-time.—XXV. Imprisonment for Negroes suffering assemblies at their houses.—XXVI. Slaves not to keep fire-arms.—XXVII. Punishment on slaves offering

violence to whites.—XXVIII. Punishment on slaves harbouring slaves.—XXIX. Who are deemed runaways.—XXX. Reward for securing runaways. Proviso.—XXXI. How runaways are to be disposed of.—XXXII. Time of tickets limited.—XXXIII. Account of births and deaths must be given in.—XXXIV. Overseer to pay if his neglect.—XXXV. Surgeons to give in an account of slaves dying. Encouragement for increase of slaves.—XXXVI. Further encouragement for increase of slaves.—XXXVII. Penalty on free Negroes, &c. granting tickets to slaves.—XXXVIII. Whites granting such tickets punishable.—XXXIX. XL. and XLI. Keepers of Gaols, &c. to advertise runaways, detain them until paid their fees, attest the charges for mile-money, &c., allow them provisions, and not hire them out.—XLII. Certain runaways, how liable to be punished.—XLIII. Runaways absent six months, how punishable.—XLIV. Slaves guilty of Obeah, how punishable.—XLV. Slaves attempting to poison, to suffer death.—XLVI. Slaves punishable if found in possession of large quantities of fresh meat.—XLVII. Slaves stealing horned cattle how punished.—XLVIII. Slaves guilty of crimes how tried.—XLIX. Jurors to serve under penalty.—L. Three justices to form a court.—LI. How executions are performed.—LII. Slaves giving false evidence how punished.—LIII. How fees of slaves discharged by proclamation are paid.—LIV. Clerk of the peace to record slave trials.—LV. Five days notice of trial to be given.—LVI. Slaves executed, or transported, to be valued.—LVII. Such valuation to be paid by Receiver-general.—LVIII. Slaves returning from transportation suffer death.—LIX. Punishment for inferior crimes.—LX. Provost-marshal to deliver runaways to workhouse keeper.—LXI. Runaways to be committed to workhouse.—LXII. Homes, &c. belonging to slaves, to be taken up and sold.—LXIII. Penalty for permitting slaves to keep horses.—LXIV. Oath to be made that slaves have no property.—LXV. Slaves not to purchase horses, &c.—LXVI. Penalty for concealing slaves against whom warrants are issued.—LXVII. Slaves attempting to depart this island, how punishable.—LXVIII. Penalty for assisting slaves to go off the island.—LXIX. Penalty on whites for aiding slaves to go off the island.—LXX. Persons so offending to be proceeded against.—LXXI. Overseers not to leave estates on holidays.—LXXII. Slaves not to be mutilated.—LXXIII. Punishment on such as escape from the workhouse.—LXXIV. Penalty for suffering slaves to escape.—LXXV. Slaves not to hunt with lances, &c.—LXXVI. Justices to do their duty in martial law.—LXXVII. Jurors, &c. protected.—LXXVIII. How penalties shall be recovered and disposed of.

WHEREAS it is for the public good, that all the laws respecting the order and government of slaves, should be consolidated and brought into one law, in order to prevent confusion, and that justice may more effectually be executed respecting slaves; and whereas it is found necessary, for the purpose of giving further security to slaves, that the mode of trial of

slaves charged with capital offences should be altered; and whereas, in order thereto, it is necessary that all the herein after-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, should be repealed; viz. &c. &c. &c. We, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly of this your majesty's island of Jamaica, do most humbly beseech your majesty, that it may be enacted, Be it therefore enacted, by the lieutenant-governor, council, and assembly of the said island, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, That, from and after the passing of this act, all and every the said herein before-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, and every part thereof, be and stand annulled, repealed, and made void, and are hereby annulled, repealed, and made void to all intents and purposes whatsoever; any thing in the said laws, and clauses of laws, or in any other law, contained to the contrary, in anywise notwithstanding.

II. And whereas nothing can contribute more to the good order and government of slaves than the humanity of their owners, in providing for and supplying them with good and wholesome provisions, and proper and sufficient clothing, and all such other things as may be proper and necessary for them, during their being in a state of slavery: For which end and purpose, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, every master, owner, or possessor, of any plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands whatsoever, shall allot and appoint a sufficient quantity of land for every slave he shall have in possession upon, or belonging to, such plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands, as and for the proper ground of every such slave, and allow such slave sufficient time to work the same, in order to provide him, her, or themselves with sufficient provisions for his, her, or their maintenance: and also, all such masters, owners, or possessors of plantations, pens, or other lands, shall plant upon such plantations, pens, or other lands, in ground-provisions, at least one acre of land for every *ten* Negroes* that he shall be possessed of on such plantation, pen, or other lands, over and above the Negro-grounds aforesaid; which lands shall be kept up in a planter-like condition, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

* In the former act an acre of provisions was allotted to every four Negroes, exclusive as above, but it was found an exorbitant and unnecessary allowance, and the alteration was made as it now stands, expressly that the law might be enforced.

III. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every such master, owner, or possessor, or his or her overseer or chief manager, shall personally inspect into the condition of such Negro-grounds once in every month at the least, in order to see that the same are cultivated and kept up in a proper manner, of which oath shall be made, as in this act is hereafter directed.* And whereas it may happen, that in many plantations, pens, settlements, and towns in this island, there may not be lands proper for the purposes aforesaid; then, and in that case, the masters, owners, or possessors, do, by some other ways and means, make good and ample provision for all such slaves as they shall be possessed of, equal to the value of two shillings and six-pence currency per week for each slave, in order that they may be properly supported and maintained, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no master, owner, or possessor of any slave or slaves, whether in his or her own right, or as attorney, guardian, trustee, executor, or otherwise, shall discard or turn away any such slave or slaves on account of or by reason of such slave or slaves being rendered incapable of labour or service to such master, owner, or possessor, by means of sickness, age, or infirmity; but every such master, owner, or possessor, as aforesaid, shall be, and he is hereby obliged, to keep all such slave or slaves upon his, her, or their properties, and to find and provide them with wholesome necessities of life, and not suffer such slave or slaves as aforesaid to be in want thereof, or to wander about, or become burthensome to others for sustenance, under the penalty of ten pounds for every such offence, to be recovered in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace in this island; who is hereby authorized, empowered, and required, to cause such master, owner, or possessor, his, her, or their attorney or agent, and such other persons as he shall judge necessary, to be summoned before him, to enable him to judge and determine of the propriety of such information; and whether such master, owner, or possessor, ought to incur the said penalty; and in the mean time, and until such trial can be had, the said justice of the peace, on his own view, or upon the information of any white person, upon oath, is hereby empowered and

required, to take up such wandering, sick, aged, or infirm slave or slaves, and to lodge him, her, or them, in the nearest workhouse, there to be clothed and fed, but not worked, at the expence of the master, owner, or possessor, until such trial as aforesaid can be had; and if it shall appear to the said justice, on such trial, that the party or parties so complained of is or are guilty of the said offence, and shall refuse to pay the said ten pounds, and the fees to such workhouse for the maintenance of such slave or slaves, together with the charges of the conviction, the said justice is hereby required and empowered, under the penalty of twenty pounds, forthwith, by warrant under his hand and seal, directed to the constable, to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol of the county or parish where the offence shall be committed, there to remain until he or she shall pay the said sum of ten pounds, and charges as aforesaid; one moiety of which said fine shall be paid to the informer, and the other moiety shall be paid into the hands of the churchwardens of such parish, for the poor of said parish; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

V. And for the better encouragement of slaves to do their duty to their masters, owners, or possessors, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, or possessor of slaves, shall, once in every year, provide and give to each slave they shall be possessed of proper and sufficient clothing, to be approved of by the justices and vestry of the parish where such master, owner, or possessor of such slaves resides, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion, and shall do their utmost endeavours to fit them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently they can, cause to be baptised all such as they can make sensible of a Deity, and the Christian faith.

VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, or possessor of slaves, his or her overseer or chief manager, at their giving in an account of their slaves and stock

to the justices and vestry, on the 25th day of December in every year, shall, under the penalty of fifty pounds for every neglect, also give in, on oath, an account of the quantity of land in ground-provisions, over and above the Negro-grounds; upon such plantation, pen, or other settlement, where there are lands proper for the cultivation of such provisions; and, where there are not lands proper for such purposes, then an account, on oath, of the provision made on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, or means adopted for the maintenance of the slaves thereon; and shall also, at the same time, and under the like penalty, give in an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity of the clothing actually served to each slave on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, for the approbation of the justices and vestry as aforesaid; and shall, likewise, at the same time declare, on oath, that he hath inspected the Negro-grounds (where such grounds are allotted), of such plantation, pen, or settlement, according to the directions of this act.

VIII. And, in order to encourage slaves for every good and worthy act that they shall do, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every slave or slaves that shall take up any runaway slave, or inform against any person who shall have or conceal any runaway slave or slaves, so that such runaway slave or slaves may be taken and restored to his owner or owners; every such slave or slaves, so informing, shall be entitled to such reward as any justice shall in reason and justice think just and reasonable, and be paid by such person or persons as such justice shall determine ought to pay the same, not exceeding twenty shillings.

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave or slaves shall kill or take any slave or slaves in actual rebellion, he or they shall receive from the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed, the sum of three pounds, and the sum of five pounds if taken alive, and a blue cloth coat, with a red cross on the right shoulder, to be paid by the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed or taken; the whole expence whereof shall be reimbursed by the receiver-general for the time being, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated.

X. And, in order to prevent any person from mutilating or dismembering any slave or slaves, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid; That if any master, mistress, owner, possessor, or other person whatsoever, shall, at his, her, or their, own will and pleasure, or by his, her, or their, direction, or with his, her, or their, knowledge, sufferance, privity, or consent, mutilate or dismember any slave or slaves, he, she, or they, shall be liable to be indicted for each offence in the supreme court of judicature, or in any of the assize courts of this island; and, upon conviction, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, and imprisonment, not exceeding twelve months, for each and every slave so mutilated or dismembered; and such punishment is declared to be without prejudice to any action that could or might be brought at common law, for recovery of damages for or on account of the same; And, in very atrocious cases, where the owner of such slave or slaves shall be convicted of such offence, the court before whom such offender shall have been tried and convicted, are hereby empowered, in case they shall think it necessary, for the future protection of such slave or slaves, to declare him, her, or them, free, and discharged from all manner of servitude, to all intents and purposes whatsoever: And, in all such cases, the court are hereby empowered and authorised, if to them it shall appear necessary, to order and direct the said fine of one hundred pounds to be paid to the justices and vestry of the parish to which the said slave or slaves belonged, to the use of the said parish, the said justices and vestry, in consideration thereof, paying to such of the said slave or slaves, so made free, the sum of ten pounds per annum, for his, her, or their, maintenance and support during life; and in case any slave or slaves shall suffer any before-decrib'd mutilations, such slave or slaves, on his, her, or their, application to any justice of the peace, the said justice of the peace shall be, and is hereby, directed, required, and empowered, on view, and certain conviction of the fact, to send such slave or slaves to the nearest workhouse where such offence shall be committed, and such slave or slaves shall be there safely kept, and carefully attended, at the expence of such parish, until such time as there may be a legal meeting of the justices and vestry of such parish; which justices and vestry, so met, are hereby created and appointed a council of protection of such

slave or slaves: And the said justices and vestry, so met, are hereby directed and empowered, to make further and full inquiry, upon view, into the commitment of the mutilation of such slave or slaves; and, if to them it shall appear proper, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered and required to prosecute to effect such owner or owners; the expence of which prosecution shall be paid by the parish where such offence shall be committed: And in case the owner or owners of such slave or slaves shall appear capable of paying the costs and charges of such before-mentioned prosecution, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered to commence suit or suits against such owner or owners of such slave or slaves, and recover all costs and charges out of purse, by them laid out and expended in such suit or suits: And the keeper or supervisor of the workhouse where such mutilated slave or slaves shall have been first committed, is hereby directed and required, upon due notice of the first meeting of the justices and vestry of the parish where the offence was committed, to produce such mutilated slave or slaves, for the inspection and direction of such justices and vestry, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect, in not producing before such justices and vestry such slave or slaves.

XI. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in case any justice of the peace shall receive any complaint or *probable intelligence from any slave or otherwise*, that any slave or slaves is or are so mutilated, or is or are confined without sufficient support, it shall and may be lawful for such justice of the peace, and he is hereby empowered and required, forthwith to issue his warrant to any constable, ordering him immediately to proceed to the place where such slave or slaves, so mutilated, are confined, and such slave or slaves to *release and bring before such justice, who, on view of the fact, is hereby authorised to send such slave or slaves to the workhouse for protection, and who is there to be kept, but not to be worked, until inquiry shall be made into the fact according to law.*

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person hereafter shall wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly, kill, or cause to be killed, any Negro or other slave, such person so offending, shall, on conviction, be admitted guilty of felony, without benefit of

clergy, and shall suffer death accordingly for the said offence: ~~Provided~~ always, That such conviction shall not extend to the corrupting the blood, or the forfeiture of lands or tenements, goods or chattels; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding.

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, any person or persons that shall wantonly or cruelly whip, *maltreat*, beat, bruise, wound, or shall imprison or keep in confinement, without sufficient support, any slave or slaves, shall be subject to be indicted for the same in the supreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of assize, or courts of quarter-sessions in this island; and, upon being thereof legally convicted, he, she, or they, shall suffer such punishment, by fine or imprisonment, *or both*, as the judges or justices of such courts shall think proper to inflict; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding: And such punishment is hereby declared to be without prejudice to any action at common law that could or might be brought for the recovery of damages for and on account of the same, in case such slave or slaves shall not be the property of the offender.

XIV. And, in order to restrain arbitrary punishments, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no slave on any plantation or settlement, or in any of the workhouses or gaols in this island, shall receive more than ten lashes at one time and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or administrator, or overseer, of such plantation or settlement, having such slave in his care, or supervisor of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol, shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, supervisor, or gaol-keeper, shall, on any account, punish a slave with more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for one offence, *nor inflict, or suffer to be inflicted, such last-mentioned punishment, nor any other number of lashes; in the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effects of any former punishment, under the penalty of ten pounds** for every

* In the former act, 5*l*.

offence, to be recovered against the person directing or permitting such punishment.

XV. *And whereas a mischievous practice hath sometimes prevailed of punishing ill-disposed slaves, and such as are apt to abscond from their owners, by fixing or causing to be fixed round the necks of such slaves, an iron collar with projecting bars or hooks to prevent the future desertion of such slaves; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such practice is hereby declared to be utterly unlawful, and that no person shall, on any pretence whatsoever, under the penalty of fifty pounds, punish any Negro or other slave, whether his own property or otherwise, by fixing, or causing to be fixed, any iron or other collar round the neck of such slave, or by loading the body or limbs of such slave, for any offence whatsoever, with chains, irons, or weights, of any kind, other than such as are absolutely necessary for securing the person of such slave; and all and every the justices of the peace, within this island, are hereby authorised, directed, and required, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, on information and view of such offence, to order such collar, chains, irons, or weights, to be immediately taken off from the slave or slaves wearing or bearing the same.*

XVI. *And whereas, from the decease and removal of residence of many proprietors of slaves, and other circumstances, and from the manumission of Negro, Mulatto, and other slaves, without any suitable provision being made for their future maintenance, many unhappy objects, afflicted with contagious distempers, or disabled from labour by sickness, old age, and otherwise, and having no owners, prove dangerous, or become a burthen and nuisance to the several towns and parishes of this island: for remedy whereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices and vestrymen of the several towns and parishes in this island be empowered, and they are hereby empowered, to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of the said several towns and parishes, in the same manner as the parochial taxes are usually laid, for the purpose of raising such a sum as they shall judge sufficient to provide for the maintenance, clothing, medical care, and attendance, in the workhouses or other convenient places of the said several towns and parishes of this island, of such Negro, Mulatto, or other slaves, or other unhappy objects as aforesaid:*

And the magistrates respectively of such town and parish are hereby empowered and required, upon application being made to them, or either of them, to order all such objects as aforesaid to be removed and conveyed to the respective workhouses of each parish where (if a slave) the former proprietor or proprietors, owner or owners, of such slave lived or resided; or, if a person of colour made free, where the person or persons who manumised or set free such person of colour resided before his decease, there to be lodged and taken care of as aforesaid: And the magistrates and vestries of the several towns and parishes, as aforesaid, are hereby empowered and required to make from time to time all such humane and salutary regulations, for the purposes aforesaid, as to them shall appear necessary and expedient.

XVII. And whereas it is absolutely necessary, that the slaves in this island should be kept in due obedience to their owners, and in due subordination to the white people in general, and, as much as in the power of the legislature, all means and opportunities of slaves committing rebellious conspiracies, and other crimes, to the ruin and destruction of the white people, and others in this island, prevented, and that proper punishments should be appointed for all crimes to be by them committed; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no slave, *such only excepted as are going with fire-wood, grass, fruit, provisions, or small stock and other goods, which they may lawfully sell, to market, and returning therefrom,* shall hereafter be suffered or permitted to go out of his or her master or owner's plantation or settlement, or to travel from one town or place to another, unless such slave shall have a ticket from his master, owner, employer, or overseer, expressing particularly the time of such slave's setting out, and where he or she is going, and the time limited for his or her return, under a penalty not exceeding forty shillings for every slave so offending, to be recovered from the master, owner, employer, or overseer, in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace, by warrant of distress, complaint being made to him upon oath, unless the master, owner, employer, or overseer, of such slave shall prove, upon oath, before any justice of the peace of the parish or precinct where such master, owner, employer, or overseer, may or shall live, or happen

to be, that he did give the said slave such ticket as aforesaid, or that such slave went away without his consent; and if such justice shall refuse or neglect his duty, either in causing the penalty to be forthwith levied, on complaint being made to him as aforesaid, on the owner, overseer, or any other person, who shall suffer a slave, being under his or their direction, to go without a ticket as aforesaid, every justice so offending shall forfeit the sum of five pounds; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.*

XVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That for the future, all slaves in this island shall be allowed the usual number of holidays that were allowed at the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide: Provided, That, at every such respective season, no two holidays shall be allowed to follow or succeed immediately one after the other, except at Christmas, when they shall be allowed Christmas-day, and also the day immediately succeeding; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding: And if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer of such plantation or settlement, shall presume, at the seasons aforesaid, to allow any holidays to any slave belonging to any such plantation or settlement, other than as directed by this act to be given, every person so offending, shall forfeit the sum of five pounds.

XIX. And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island, to allow their slaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision-grounds (exclusive of Sundays), except during the time of crop; but the same not being compulsory, be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the slaves belonging to, or employed on, every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the holidays herein before-mentioned, be allowed one day in every fortnight, to cultivate their own provision-grounds, exclusive of Sundays, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the care of such slaves.

* In the former act it was also provided that the slave himself, going without a ticket, should be punished, which is now omitted.

XX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every field-slave on such plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed, according to custom, half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no slaves shall be compelled to any manner of field-work upon the plantation before the hour of five in the morning, or after the hour of seven at night, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the care of such slaves.

XXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, shall hereafter suffer any strange slaves, exceeding twelve in number, to assemble together and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, or in any yard or place under his, her, or their, care or management, or shall not endeavour to disperse or prevent the same, by immediately giving notice thereof to the next magistrate or commissioned officer, that a proper force may be sent to disperse the said slaves; every such master, owner, guardian, or attorney, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize, pay a fine of fifty pounds to his majesty, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof: Provided nevertheless, That information of such offence shall be made, upon oath, before any of his majesty's justices of the peace, within the space of five days after the commission of such offence.

XXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all officers, civil and military, shall be, and are hereby empowered and required, to enter into any plantation, settlement, or other place, to disperse all such unlawful assemblies, and to suppress and prevent all unlawful drummings or other noise, as before-mentioned; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXIII. And whereas it has been found by experience, that rebellions have been often concerted at Negro dances, and nightly meetings of the slaves of different plantations, when such slaves are generally intoxicated;

and as it has been found that those meetings tend much to injure the healths of Negroes; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer, or, in his absence, any book-keeper, or other white person, having the care and management of any plantation or settlement, shall suffer any slaves to assemble together, and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, every such overseer, book-keeper, or other white person so offending, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature, or before the justices of the assize, suffer six months imprisonment without bail or mainprize: Provided information is made, upon oath as aforesaid, before one of his majesty's justices of the peace, within five days after the commission of such offence: And provided always nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any master, owner, or proprietor, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer thereof, from granting liberty to the slaves of such plantation or settlement only, for assembling together upon such plantation or settlement, and playing and diverting themselves in any innocent amusements, so as they do not make use of military drums, horns, or shells; but that they shall and may grant such liberty when and as often as they please, any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided, that such amusements are put an end to by twelve of the clock at night.

XXIV. *And, in order to prevent riots and nightly meetings among Negro and other slaves, to the disturbance of the public peace, and the endangering their healths, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all Negro burials shall in future take place in the day-time only, so that the same may be ended before sun-set; and if any master, owner, or possessor of slaves, his or her overseer, or chief manager, shall knowingly suffer or permit the burial of any slave otherwise than as before directed, he shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.*

XXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, free Negro, or Mulatto, shall hereafter suffer any unlawful assembly of slaves at his or her house or settlement, every such Indian, free Negro, or Mulatto, shall, upon due conviction thereof, suffer

imprisonment, not exceeding six months: ~~Provided nevertheless, That~~ information thereof shall be given, on oath, within five days of such unlawful meeting.

XXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all slaves who shall hereafter be found to have in his or their custody, any fire-arms, gunpowder, slugs, or ball, such slave being thereof convicted, before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict, by whipping or hard labour in the workhouse, not exceeding the term of six months.

XXVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall offer any violence, by striking or otherwise, to any white person, such slave, upon due and proper proof, shall, upon conviction, be punished with death, *transportation*, or confinement to hard labour, not exceeding two years, or otherwise, as the court shall, in their discretion, think proper to inflict; Provided such striking or conflict be not by command of his or their owners, overseers, or persons entrusted over them, or in the lawful defence of their owners' persons or goods.

XXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any slave or slaves who shall knowingly harbour or conceal any runaway slave or slaves, shall be liable to be tried for the same at the slave court hereinafter appointed, and on conviction, suffer such punishment as the justices at the said court shall think proper to inflict, *not extending to life or limb*.

XXIX. And whereas it is very dangerous to the peace and safety of this island, to suffer slaves to continue out as runaways, and it is absolutely necessary to declare and make known to the public what slaves shall be deemed such; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, any slave or slaves who *shall be absent from his owner or employer, without leave, for the space of ten days, and shall be found at the distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or other settlement, to which he, she, or they, belong, without a ticket or other permit to pass, except as before excepted, in going to and returning from market*, shall be deemed a runaway.

XXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any person whatsoever, who shall apprehend such slave or slaves, shall, for every one so apprehended, be entitled to receive from the owner, employer, overseer, or manager of such slave or slaves, the sum of ten shillings, and no more; besides mile-money, at the rate of one shilling per mile for the first five miles, and six-pence per mile afterwards: Provided such slave or slaves had absented him, her, or themselves, ten days without the privity, knowledge, or consent, of the proprietor, overseer, or other white person, residing on the plantation or settlement to which such slave or slaves shall belong; which time of absence of such slave or slaves shall be declared on the oath of such proprietor, overseer, or other white person, as aforesaid, if the party taking up such slave or slaves shall require it: But it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that every person or persons who shall apprehend any slave or slaves, that usually reside in, or are employed in, any of the towns of this island, and that at the time are actually runaway or absent from their owner, employer, or manager's service, ten days, shall be entitled to the reward of ten shillings, although the slave or slaves should not be eight miles distant from their employer's habitation: Provided nevertheless, That nothing in this act contained, shall be construed to extend to an allowance of the said sum of ten shillings and mile-money, in addition to the sum allowed to Maroon Negroes for apprehending runaways: And provided also, That it is not hereby intended to deprive the said Maroons of their legal and established reward of forty shillings for each Negro.

XXXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the person or persons so apprehending such slave or slaves, shall convey him, her, or them, to their respective owner, employer, or manager, or to the workhouse of such parish, if any workhouse is established there; and in case of there being no workhouse, to the next gaol, in case the owner, employer, or manager, of such slave or slaves shall refuse to pay the said sum of ten shillings, and mile-money as aforesaid, or take the oath as to the time of absence; in which case, the gaol or workhouse-keeper is hereby required and ordered to receive such slave or slaves into his or their custody, and to pay the party delivering such slave or slaves the said

sum of ten shillings and nine pence as aforesaid, and no more, for each slave so delivered, under the penalty of five pounds. Provided nevertheless, That if such slave or slaves is or are brought to any gaol or workhouse by any white person, free Negro, free Mulatto, or Indian, no gaoler or workhouse-keeper shall pay such sum before such person shall have taken an oath, (which oath such gaoler or workhouse-keeper is hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to file in his office and produce, whenever thereunto required by the owner, or possessor of such slave or slaves,) that the slave or slaves so apprehended was or were at the reputed distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or settlement, to which such slave or slaves do belong (except as before is excepted), and that such slave or slaves had no ticket or other permit in writing from his master, mistress, overseer, employer, or manager, at the time such slave or slaves was or were apprehended, for him, her, or them, to pass unmolested, and that the said slave or slaves had been carried first to the owner, employer, or manager of such slave or slaves (provided such owner, employer, or manager, shall be in the parish in which such slave or slaves shall be apprehended), and that the master, mistress, overseer, or manager, had refused to pay for the apprehending him, her, or them, according to the intent and meaning of this act.

XXXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no ticket shall be granted to any slave or slaves for any time exceeding one calendar month.

XXXIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year, (the time of giving in as aforesaid) or within thirty days after, the owner, overseer, or manager of every plantation, pen, or settlement, shall give in, on oath, an account of all the births and deaths of the slaves of such plantation, pen, or settlement, for the preceding year, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered from the owner of such plantation, pen, or other settlement.

XXXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, if the not giving in upon oath such several accounts shall be owing to the neglect of the overseer or manager of such plantation, pen, or other

settlement, it shall and may be lawful for the owner, proprietor, or possessor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, to stop and detain the penalty he or she shall suffer by this law, out of the wages of such overseer or manager.

XXXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the doctor or surgeon of every plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall, on the twenty-eighth day of December, in every year, (the time of giving in as aforesaid) or within thirty days after, give in an account, on oath, of the deaths of such slaves as have died in the preceding year, or during such time as such doctor or surgeon hath had the care of the slaves on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, with the cause of such deaths, to the best of his knowledge, judgment, and belief, under the penalty of one hundred pounds for every neglect: And in case it shall appear, to the satisfaction of the justices and vestry, from the return of the owner, overseer, or manager aforesaid, that there has been a natural increase in the number of slaves on any such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the overseer shall be entitled to receive from the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the sum of *three pounds** for every slave born on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, in the time aforesaid, and which shall be then living, *after deducting the decrease*; and the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall have a deduction from the first of his or her public taxes that shall become due, of the sum so paid to the overseer, on producing a certificate of the justices and vestry of such increase, and a receipt of the overseer for the sum so paid.

XXXVI. *And, in order that further encouragement may be given to the increase and protection of Negro infants, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every female slave, who shall have six children living, shall be exempted from hard labour in the field or otherwise, and the owner or possessor of every such female slave shall be exempted from all manner of taxes for such female slave, any thing in the act commonly called the poll-tax law, or any other of the tax laws of this island passed, or annually to*

* In the former act, *twenty shillings*;

be passed, to the contrary notwithstanding; and a deduction shall be made for all such female slaves from the taxes of such owner or possessor, by certificate of the justices and vestry, at the same time, and in manner as directed in the case of an annual increase of the number of slaves as aforesaid: Provided nevertheless, That proof be given, on oath, to the satisfaction of the said justices and vestry, not only that the requisite number of children, together with the mother, are living; but also that the mother is exempted from all manner of field or other hard labour, and is provided with the means of an easy and comfortable maintenance.

XXXVII. And whereas, the more effectually to conceal runaway slaves, or prevent their being apprehended, tickets are given by Indians, free Negroes, or free Mulattoes; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any Indian, free Negro, or Mulatto, granting or giving such ticket, with such intent, shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the said offence before the supreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of assize in this island where the offence shall be committed; and, on conviction, shall suffer the loss of freedom, transportation, or such other punishment, as the court, in their discretion, shall think proper to inflict.

XXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if such ticket shall be granted or given by any white person, with such intent as aforesaid, to any slave or slaves, before or after his or their absenting themselves from their owner, employer, overseer, or manager, such white person shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the same before the supreme court of judicature, or either of the assize courts of this island, where the offence shall be committed; and, on conviction, shall suffer such punishment, as the court, in their discretion, shall think proper to inflict.

XXXIX. And, to the end that the owners and proprietors of runaway slaves may have a due knowledge where such slaves are confined, after their being apprehended and sent to any workhouse or gaol in this island, in order that such owners and proprietors may apply for such slaves; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, all and every the keepers of the workhouses, or

gaol-keepers, in any of the parishes of this island, shall, and they are hereby obliged, once in every week, to advertise in the Gazette of Saint Jago de la Vega, the Royal Gazette of Kingston, and the Cornwall Chronicle, the height, names, marks, and sex, and also the country, where the same can be ascertained, of each and every runaway slave then in their custody, together with the time of their being sent into custody, and the name or names of the owner or owners thereof, if known, and that upon oath, under the penalty of ten pounds for every slave so neglected by him to be advertised; and, for the expence of such advertisement, they, the said workhouse-keepers or gaol-keepers, shall and may, and they are hereby authorized to, charge the owner or proprietor of such runaway slave so advertised, at and after the rate of one shilling and three-pence per month for each paper, and no more; and that it shall and may be lawful for the keeper of the workhouse or gaol-keeper, to detain and keep in his or their custody such runaway slave or slaves so brought unto him or them, until the owner or owners thereof, or some person on their behalf, properly authorized, shall pay unto him or them what he or they so paid to the person or persons who apprehended and brought such slave or slaves into custody, with two shillings and six-pence in the pound for laying out his or their money, the cost of advertising, after the rate above mentioned, and six-pence for every twenty-four hours such slave or slaves shall have been in custody, for maintenance, and two-pence per day for medical care and extraordinary nourishment where necessary, and also the charges of advertising above directed, and no other fees whatever; and that the gaoler, workhouse-keeper, or supervisor, and no other person, shall attest, upon oath, that the charges in the account for mile-money, and the reward for apprehending such slave, were actually paid to the person who brought such runaway, and that the whole of the charges in the said account are strictly conformable to this law.

XL. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the keeper of every workhouse or gaol in this island shall, under the penalty of ten pounds for every neglect, provide and give to every slave confined in such workhouse or gaol, a sufficient quantity of good and

wholesome provisions daily; that is to say, not less than one quart of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full-grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams, and also one herring or shad, or other salted provisions equal thereto.

XXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no gaol-keeper in this island, or any person acting under him as clerk or deputy, shall, on any pretence whatsoever, work or employ any slave or slaves sent to his custody, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, belonging to, or in the possession of, any such gaol-keeper, nor hire or lend such slave or slaves out to work for any other person or persons, during such time such slave or slaves shall be in his custody, but that all such slaves shall be and remain in the common gaol of the county or parish, in order to be inspected by any person or persons desiring the same; and in case any gaol-keeper shall offend herein, he shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.

XLII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all slaves who shall have been in this island for the space of two years, and shall run away, and continue absent for a term not exceeding six months, shall be liable to be tried by two justices; and, upon conviction thereof, such slave or slaves shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict.

XLIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall run away from his owner or lawful possessor, and be absent for more than six months, such slave, being duly convicted thereof, shall be sentenced to be confined to hard labour for such time as the court shall determine, or be transported for life, according to the magnitude of the offence.

XLIV. And, in order to prevent the many mischiefs that may hereafter arise from the wicked art of Negroes going under the appellation of Obeah men and women, pretending to have communication with the devil and other evil spirits, whereby the weak and superstitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt them, whilst

under their protection, from any evils that might otherwise happen; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, any slave who shall pretend to any supernatural power, in order to promote the purposes of rebellion, shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to direct; any thing in this or any other act, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

XLV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other slave shall mix or prepare, with an intent to give, or cause to be given, any poison or poisonous drug, or shall actually give, or cause to be given, any such poison or poisonous drug, in the practice of Obeah or otherwise, although death may not ensue upon the taking thereof, the said slave or slaves, together with their accessories, as well before as after the fact, (being slaves) being duly convicted thereof, shall suffer death, or transportation for life, as the court shall determine; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XLVI. And whereas great number of horned cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mares, mules, and asses, are frequently stolen and killed by Negro and other slaves, in so secret and private a manner, that it is with the greatest difficulty they can be found out and discovered, in such manner as to convict them of such offence, although large quantity of beef, mutton, and the flesh of other valuable animals, are found upon him, her, or them; in order, therefore, to prevent such evils in future, and to punish the perpetrators of such acts agreeably to their crimes, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other slave shall fraudulently have in his, her, or their custody or possession, unknown to his or her master, owner, overseer, or other person, who shall have the overlooking or employing of such slave, any fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, in any quantity exceeding five and not exceeding twenty pounds weight, such Negro or other slave, upon due conviction thereof before any two magistrates, shall be whipped in such manner as such magistrates shall direct, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and if there shall be found in his, her, or their custody or possession, a larger or greater quantity than twenty

pounds weight of fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, and such slave shall not give a satisfactory account how he or she became possessed of such meat, that then such Negro or other slave, upon conviction thereof, shall suffer such punishment as the said two justices shall think proper to direct, not extending to life, or imprisonment for life.

XLVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other slave shall, after the passing of this act, steal any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, or shall kill any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, with intent to steal the whole carcass of any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, or any part of the flesh thereof, such Negro or other slave shall, on conviction thereof, suffer death, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict.

XLVIII. And whereas it is necessary to declare how, and in what manner, slaves shall be tried for the several crimes which they may hereafter commit, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, upon complaint made to any justice of the peace of any felony, burglary, robbery, burning of houses, cane-pieces, rebellious conspiracies, compassing or imagining the death of any white person or persons, or any other offence whatsoever committed by any slave or slaves, that shall subject such slave or slaves to suffer death or transportation, such justice shall issue out his warrant for apprehending such offender or offenders, and for all persons to be brought before him, or any other justice of the peace, that can give evidence; and the evidence of slaves against one another, in this and all other cases, shall be received; and if, upon examination, it appears probable that the slave or slaves apprehended is or are guilty, the justice before whom such examination shall be had and taken, shall commit him, her, or them, to prison, and bind over the witnesses to appear at a certain day, not less than ten days from the day on which the complaint shall be made, and at the place where the quarter-sessions are usually held, and, where there are no quarter-sessions held, at the place where the parochial business is usually transacted, and shall certify to two other justices of the peace the cause of

such commitment, and require them, by virtue of this act, to associate themselves to him, which said justices are hereby severally required to do, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect or refusal; and the said justices so associated, shall issue out their warrant to summon twelve persons, such as are usually warned and impanelled to serve on juries, (the master, owner, or proprietor of the slave or slaves so complained of, or the attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper of such master, owner, or proprietor, or the person prosecuting, his or her attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper, always excepted) personally to be and appear before the said justices, at the day and place aforesaid, to be expressed in such warrant, and between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, when and where the said persons so warned are hereby severally required to attend, under the penalty of five pounds; and when and where the said justices shall cause the said slave or slaves, so complained of, to be brought before them, and thereupon nine of the said persons so summoned, as aforesaid, shall compose a jury to try the said slave or slaves, and shall by the said justices (*the charge or accusation being first read*) be sworn to try the matter before them, and to give a true verdict according to evidence; and such charge or accusation shall be deemed valid, if sufficient in substance; and if the said jurors shall, upon hearing the evidence, unanimously find the said slave or slaves guilty of the offence, wherewith he, she, or they, stand charged, the said justices shall give sentence of death without benefit of clergy, or *transportation*, or confinement to hard labour *for any limited time not exceeding two years**, according to the nature of the offence, and shall cause such sentence to be carried into execution, and at such time and place as they shall think proper, women with child only excepted, whose execution shall be respited until a reasonable time after delivery: Provided always nevertheless, That at every court of quarter-sessions held in each and every parish or precinct within this island, the justices there assembled shall and may, after the usual business of the said court shall be done, form themselves into a court, for the purpose of inquiring into, hearing, and determining all manner of

* In the former act, *for life*.

offences for which any slave or slaves are liable to be punished with death, or transportation, or confinement to hard labour, as aforesaid, and shall open the said court by proclamation, declaring the same to be a slave-court for such purpose, and shall thereupon, on the like charge in writing- and in like manner, in all other respects, as the three justices associated and met as herein before-mentioned are, by this act, directed to proceed in the trial of slaves for such offences, proceed to try, and deliver the gaol or workhouse within the said parish or precinct of, all and every slave and slaves who shall or may then be in the custody of the marshal or keeper of the workhouse, within each and every parish or precinct as aforesaid, and shall forthwith cause a jury, consisting of nine jurors, to be called and taken from the panel returned to the said court of quarter-sessions, and shall cause them to be severally sworn, as they shall appear, to try all and every such slave and slaves as shall be brought before them, charged with any such offences as aforesaid, and a true verdict given according to evidence, as in other cases.

XLIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the jurors who shall be returned to serve as jurors at the quarter-sessions, to be holden as aforesaid, are hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to be and appear at the said slave-court, so to be formed and holden as aforesaid, and to serve as jurors thereon as they shall respectively be called: Provided also, That nothing in this act contained shall hinder or prevent the said justices, upon any such trial, where any slave or slaves shall be condemned to die, from respiting the execution of such sentence for any term not exceeding thirty days, or until the pleasure of the commander in chief shall be known, in case proper cause shall appear to them for so doing; and that if the jury upon any such trial shall apply to the said justices to suspend the execution of any sentence until the pleasure of the commander in chief is known, the said justices shall be obliged to suspend the same for thirty days, except in cases of trial of any slave or slaves convicted of actual rebellion; in all which cases the said justices shall, if they think it expedient, order the sentence passed on such slave or slaves to be carried into immediate execution.

L. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That not less than three justices shall constitute a court for the trial of any slave or slaves, for any crime or offence that shall subject such slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour, *as aforesaid*; and that, upon all such trials, no peremptory challenges of any of the said jurors, or any exception to the form of the indictment, shall be allowed.

LI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where the punishment of death is inflicted, the execution shall be performed in a public part of the parish and with due solemnity; and care shall be taken by the gaoler or deputy-marshal, that the criminal is free from intoxication at the time of his trial, and from thence to and at the time of his execution, under the penalty of five pounds; and the mode of such execution shall be hanging by the neck, and no other; and the body shall be afterwards disposed of in such manner as the court shall direct: And provided also, That where several slaves shall be capitally convicted for the same offence, one only shall suffer death, except in cases of murder or rebellion.

LII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, in case any slave or slaves shall wilfully, and with evil intent, give false evidence in any trial had under this act, such slave or slaves, being thereof convicted, shall suffer the same punishment as the person or persons on whose trial such false evidence was given would, if convicted, have been liable to suffer.

LIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, where any slave or slaves shall be discharged by proclamation, the deputy-marshal or workhouse-keeper shall be entitled to receive all such fees as shall be due to him or them for such slave or slaves, at the time of such discharge, from the public, upon application and due proof made; in the most solemn manner, to the assembly, or any committee thereof, and that such slave or slaves, during the time they were in the custody of such deputy-marshal or workhouse-keeper, was and were found and provided with proper and sufficient provisions, equal to what is allowed by this law.

LIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a record shall be entered up of all proceedings on the trials of slaves, for any crime that shall subject any slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for the term of two years, in a book kept for that purpose by the clerk of the peace, or his lawful deputy, of the precinct; who is hereby obliged to attend all such trials, and to record the proceedings within thirty days after such trial, under the penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish the sum of two pounds fifteen shillings, and no more, for attending each trial, entering up the record, and any other business incidental thereto: And further, that the deputy-marshal for the said parish, or some proper person acting under him, shall also be obliged to attend such trial, under the same penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and that he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish forty shillings, for attending at the trial and execution of such offender as shall be condemned to die, and no more.

LV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all trials of any slave or slaves under this act, sufficient notice of such trial shall be first given to the owner, proprietor, or possessor, of such slave or slaves, his, her, or their lawful attorney or attornies, or other representative or representatives; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

LVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any slave or slaves shall be put upon his, her, or their trial, and shall receive sentence of death or transportation, the court, at the time of trying such slave or slaves, shall also inquire what sum or sums of money such owner, proprietor, or employer of the said slave or slaves ought to receive for such slave or slaves, and certify the same, so that such sum or sums of money do not exceed the sum of sixty pounds for each slave sentenced as aforesaid.

LVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any slave or slaves shall be brought to trial, and shall be

valued according to the direction of this act, such slave or slaves shall be paid for by the receiver-general of this island, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated; and the money arising from the actual sale of such slave or slaves as shall be so transported by the deputy-marshal shall be accounted for, on oath, to the churchwardens of the parish where the offence shall be tried, to be by them paid over to the receiver-general, for the use of the public.

LVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Negro or other slave, who shall be transported from this island, under the direction of this act, shall wilfully return from transportation, such Negro or other slave shall, upon conviction, suffer death, without benefit of clergy.

LIX. And whereas there are many inferior crimes and misdemeanours committed by slaves, which ought to be punished in a summary manner, by order of the magistrates; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for any two justices of the peace to hear and determine, in a summary manner, all such crimes and misdemeanours, giving sufficient notice to the owner or proprietor of such slave or slaves, or his or her attorney or attornies, or the person having the care of such slave or slaves, of the time and place of trial, and to order and direct such punishment to be inflicted on them as such justices, in their judgment, shall think fit, not exceeding fifty lashes or six months confinement to hard labour; the expences of which trial shall not exceed ten shillings to the constable, and shall be paid by the master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves; and in case such master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves, shall refuse or neglect to pay such expences, it shall and may be lawful for the said justices, or either of them, to issue his or their warrant, under his or their hand and seal, directed to any constable, for levying the same on the goods and chattels of such master, owner, or employer, and to sell the same at public outcry, for the purpose of paying such expences, together with the charges attending the granting and executing such warrant and sale of goods and chattles, returning the overplus, if any, to the owner thereof.

LX. And whereas great advantages have arisen to the community from the establishment of workhouses in the respective parishes in this island, for the reception of runaway and other slaves; And whereas there now are many such slaves in the possession of the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, who might be employed in the workhouses in this island to great advantage; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for the governors and guardians of the respective workhouses in this island, if to them it shall seem meet, to demand and receive from the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, all or any of the runaway Negroes or other slaves in his or their possession, or that may hereafter come into his or their custody or possession, upon the said governors and guardians paying unto the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, the full amount of the fees and other contingent charges attending the said runaway slaves during the time of their being committed to gaol, agreeably to this or any former act; and the provost-marshal and his lawful deputies shall comply with such requisitions, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

LXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no runaway slave shall, on any account, be committed to gaol by any magistrate of a parish where there is any workhouse established, but to such workhouse only.

LXII. And whereas the permitting and suffering Negro and other slaves to keep horses, mares, mules, or geldings, is attended with many and great mischiefs to the island in general; in order, therefore, to remedy the same, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, the master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, in possession of every plantation or pen in this island, having on any such plantation or pen any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, the reputed property of any slave or slaves, knowing the same to be such, shall cause them to be taken up, and shall produce them at the most public place in the parish where taken up, at such time as the justices and vestry shall, by advertisement in the public newspapers, appoint for that purpose, and that such horses, mares,

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mules, and geldings, be then and there sold and disposed of at public outcry; and if any master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse so doing, each and every of them shall, for every neglect or refusal, respectively forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in a summary manner before any two justices of the peace for the parish or precinct where such neglect or refusal shall happen, by the oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses; which penalty shall be to the use of the person informing.

LXIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, no master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, in possession of any plantation, pen, or settlement, shall knowingly permit or suffer any slave or slaves to keep on such plantation, pen, or settlement, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding; and, in case of so doing, shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in manner aforesaid.

LXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, at the respective times of their giving in an account of their slaves and stock to the justices and vestry, shall also make oath, that none of the said horses, mares, mules, or geldings, so given in, do belong to any Negro or other slave; and that such person, so giving in, or his, her, or their, employer or employers, hath not, nor have, in his, her, or their, possession, to his, her, or their, knowledge or belief, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, belonging to, or reputed to belong to, any slave or slaves; and in case any person or persons shall neglect or refuse so to do, every person so neglecting or refusing shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in the same summary manner, and to be disposed of as herein before-mentioned.

LXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, no Negro or other slave in this island shall purchase or buy any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, under the penalty of forfeiting such horse, mare, mule, or gelding, and to be dis-

posed of as herein before-mentioned: And if any person whatsoever shall sell or give any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, to any Negro or other slave, or to any person in trust for such Negro or other slave, every such person shall, for every such horse, mare, mule, or gelding, so sold or given, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds; and every person who shall purchase, or be concerned in the purchase of, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, in trust for any Negro or other slave, shall forfeit the sum of thirty pounds; which said penalties shall be recovered in the same summary manner and disposed of as herein before-mentioned; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

LXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in future, whenever a warrant shall be granted by one or more of his majesty's justices of the peace against any slave, if the said slave cannot be immediately taken on the said warrant, the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer, of such slave shall be served with a copy of the said warrant; and if he, she, or they, do not carry the said slave before a magistrate, to be dealt with according to law on the said warrant; and if it shall be afterwards proved that the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer, of such slave wilfully detained or concealed said slave, he, she, or they, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds.

LXVII. And whereas several slaves have lately found means to desert from their owners, and depart from this island, to the great damage of such owners, in evil example to other slaves, who may thereby be induced to attempt or conspire to do the same; And whereas there is reason to suspect that such slaves have been aided and assisted in such escape and departure by other persons, and there is not any adequate punishment provided by law for such desertion and departure, or attempting or conspiring to desert and depart this island, or for persons aiding, assisting, or abetting, such deserters: For remedy whereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, if any slave shall run away from his, her, or their, owner or owners, employer or employers, and go off, or conspire or attempt to go off, this island in any ship, boat, canoe, or other vessel or craft what-

adever, or be aiding, abetting, or assisting, to any other slave or slaves in such going off this island, he, she, or they, so running and going off, or conspiring or attempting to go off, or so aiding, assisting, or abetting, in such going off, being thereof convicted, shall suffer death, or such punishment as the court shall think proper to direct.

LXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, free Negro, or Mulatto, shall, from and after the passing of this act, knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves in going off this island, and shall be convicted thereof, either in the supreme court or in any of the assize courts of this island, such Indian, free Negro, or Mulatto, shall be forthwith transported off this island by the provost-marshal-general, or his lawful deputy, into whose custody such person or persons shall be committed; and if such person or persons, so convicted, sentenced, and transported, shall afterwards be found at large in this island, he, she, or they, being so thereof convicted before the supreme court of judicature or courts of assize in this island, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.

LXIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any white person or persons shall knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves, in going off this island, he, she, or they, being convicted thereof by bill, plaint, or information, in the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds for each slave; one moiety whereof shall be to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof, and the other moiety to the party or parties at whose suit or complaint such person was convicted, and shall also suffer imprisonment, at the discretion of the said court, for any space of time not exceeding twelve months, without bail or mainprize.

LXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to proceed against the person or persons so aiding, assisting, or abetting, such slave or slaves in going off this island, whether the principal or principals be convicted or not; any thing in this, or any other act, law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

LXXI. And whereas the overseers of estates in this island make a frequent practice of leaving the several estates under their care and management, on the respective seasons allowed for Negro holidays, whereby many dangerous meetings and pernicious practices are carried on; in order, therefore, to prevent the like for the future, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer in this island shall absent himself from the estate under his care and management, on any of the particular holidays herein before-mentioned to be allowed to slaves, without leave of his employer, every such overseer so offending, shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of five pounds, to be recovered by information, upon oath, before any justice of the peace, in a summary way, in the parish where such offence shall happen; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

LXXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for any justice of the peace, sitting on the trial of any slave or slaves, or otherwise, to sentence or order any slave to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatsoever.

LXXIII. And be it further enacted, That if any Negro or other slave, who may be sentenced to be confined in the workhouse for the term of two years or a less time, shall escape from such confinement before the expiration of his sentence, such Negro or other slave, being retaken, shall, on proof of his or her identity, before two justices of the peace, be adjudged by them to be sent back to confinement, and to receive a whipping, not exceeding fifty lashes.

LXXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the provost-marshal, or any of his lawful deputies, or any lawful constable, or workhouse-keeper shall willingly or negligently suffer any slave or slaves to escape, who shall be committed to his or their custody for any offence under this act, so that such slave or slaves shall not be retaken within two years, such marshal, constable, or workhouse-keeper, who shall suffer such escape, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, without injury to the right of the owner to sue for the value of the same.

LXXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no Negro or other slave shall be allowed to hunt any cattle, horses, mares,

mules, or asses, in any part of this island, with lances, guns, cutlasses, or other instruments of death, unless in the company of his or their master, overseer, or some other white person by him or them deputed, or by permission in writing; and if any Negro or other slave shall offend, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he or they, being thereof convicted before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as they shall think proper to inflict.

LXXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the justices aforesaid, and they are hereby required, to do their several and respective duties under this act when martial law shall happen to be in force, as they might or ought to have done if martial law were not subsisting; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary thereof, notwithstanding.

LXXVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all jurors serving at slave courts, and every person and persons whose presence may be requisite, at the examination of any slave or slaves, or upon the trial of any slave or slaves, and who shall be required to attend by warrant under the hand and seal of any justice of the peace, and all and every slave and slaves who shall be brought as witnesses, shall be protected in their persons from all mesne or judicial process whatsoever, in their going to, attending at, and returning from, such examination or trial, and that such slaves shall not be subject to be levied on.

LXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all penalties in this act mentioned, and not already declared how they shall be recovered and applied, shall, if not exceeding twenty pounds, be recovered in a summary manner before any two of his majesty's justices of the peace, by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels; and, if exceeding twenty pounds, to be recovered in the supreme court of judicature in this island, or in either of the courts of assize, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoign, protection, wager of law, or non vult ulterius prosequi, shall be entered; one moiety of which penalties shall be to the parish where the offence is committed, and the other moiety to the informer, or him, her, or them who shall sue for the same.

APPENDIX, No. 2.

Substance of the Address of the American Congress to all the British Colonies.

FRIENDS, AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

WE, the delegates, &c. appointed to meet at Philadelphia; have taken into our most serious consideration, the important matters recommended to the congress; and, as it may be more satisfactory to you, to be informed by us in a collective body, than in any other manner, of those sentiments that have been approved, we esteem ourselves obliged to add this address to the resolutions formerly published.

In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one state to another, duty to God, the Creator of all, requires, that an impartial judgment be formed of the measures leading to such opposition; and of the causes, by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree, be justified; that neither affection on the one hand, nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all the circumstances, and settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice.

From councils thus tempered, arise the surest hopes of the divine favour, the firmest encouragement to the parties engaged, and the strongest recommendation of their cause, to the rest of mankind.

With minds deeply impressed by a sense of these truths, we have diligently, deliberately, and calmly inquired into, and considered, those exertions, both of the legislative and executive power of Great Britain, which have excited so much uneasiness in America, and have, with equal

fideliſty and attention, conſidered the conduct of the colonies. Upon the whole, we find ourſelves reduced to the diſagreeable alternative of being ſilent, and betraying the innocent, or of ſpeaking out, and cenſuring thoſe we wiſh to revere. In making our choice of theſe diſtreſſing difficulties, we prefer the courſe dictated by honeſty, and a regard for the welfare of our country.

Soon after the concluſion of the late war, there commenced a memorable change in the treatment of theſe colonies. By a ſtatute made in the fourth year of the preſent reign, a time of *profound peace*, the Commons of Great Britain undertook to *give and grant* to his majeſty many rates and duties, to be paid in theſe colonies; and to enforce the obſervance of this act, it preſcribes a great number of ſevere penalties and forfeitures, to be recovered in any court of record, or in any court of admiralty, or vice-admiralty, *at the election of the informer or proſecutor*.

The inhabitants of theſe colonies, conſiding in the juſtice of Great Britain, were ſcarcely allowed *ſufficient time* to receive and conſider this act, before another, well known by the name of the ſtamp-act, and paſſed in the fifth year of this reign, engroſſed the whole of their attention. By this ſtatute, the British Parliament exerciſed, in the moſt explicit manner, a power of *taxing* us; and, extending the juriſdiction of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty in the colonies, to matters ariſing within the body of a county, directed the numerous penalties and forfeitures thereby inflicted, to be recovered in the ſaid courts.

In the ſame year, a tax was impoſed upon us, by an act, eſtabliſhing ſeveral new fees in the cuſtoms. In the next year, the ſtamp-act was repealed; not becauſe it was founded on an erroneous principle, but becauſe “ the continuance thereof would be attended with many inconveniencies, and might be productive of conſequences, greatly detrimental to the commercial intereſt of Great Britain.”

In the ſame year, and by a ſubſequent act, it was declared, “ that his majeſty in parliament, of right, had power to bind the people of theſe colonies, by ſtatutes, *in all caſes whatſoever*.”

In the next year (1767) an act was made “ to enable his majeſty to put the cuſtoms, and *other duties* in America, under the management of commiſſioners,” &c.; and the king thereupon erected the preſent

expensive board of commissioners, for the express purpose of carrying into execution, the several acts relating to the revenue and trade in America.

After the legal repeal of the stamp-act, having again resigned ourselves to our ancient unsuspicious affections for the parent-state, and anxious to avoid any controversy with her, in hopes of a favourable alteration in sentiments and measures towards us, we did not press our objections against the above-mentioned statutes, made subsequent to that repeal.

Administration, attributing to trifling causes, a conduct that really proceeded from generous motives, were encouraged in the same year, to make a bolder experiment on the patience of America.

By a statute, commonly called the *glass, paper, and tea act*, made fifteen months after the repeal of the *stamp-act*, the Commons of Great Britain resumed their former language, and again undertook to “give and grant rates and duties, to be paid in these colonies.”

To this statute, so naturally tending to disturb the tranquillity then universal throughout the colonies, parliament, in the same session, added another, no less extraordinary; and amidst the just fears and jealousies thereby occasioned, a statute was made in the next year, to establish courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty, on a new model, expressly for the end of more effectually recovering the penalties and forfeitures, inflicted by acts of parliament, framed for the purpose of raising a revenue in America.

These statutes, not to mention many others, exceedingly exceptionable, compared one with another, will be found, not only to form a regular system, in which every part has great force, but also a pertinacious adherence to that system for subjugating these colonies, that are not, and from local circumstances, cannot be represented in the House of Commons, to the uncontrollable and unlimited power of parliament, in violation of their undoubted rights and liberties—in contempt of their humble and repeated applications.

“This conduct must appear equally astonishing, and unjustifiable, when it is considered, how unprovoked it has been, by any behaviour of these colonies. From their first settlement, their bitterest enemies never fixed on any of them a charge of disloyalty to their sovereign, or disaffection

to their mother country. In the wars she has carried on, they have exerted themselves, whenever required, in giving her assistance; and have rendered her services, which she has publicly acknowledged to be extremely important. Their fidelity, duty, and usefulness, during the last war, were frequently and affectionately confessed by his late majesty, and the present king.

The reproaches of those who are most unfriendly to the freedom of America, are principally levelled against the province of Massachusset's-bay; but, with what little reason, will appear by the repeated declarations of a person, the truth of whose evidence, in their favour, will not be questioned.

Severe as the acts of parliament before-mentioned are, yet the conduct of administration has been equally injurious and irritating to this devoted country.

Under pretence of governing them, so many new institutions, uniformly rigid and dangerous, have been introduced, as could only be expected from incensed masters, for collecting the tribute, or rather the plunder, of conquered provinces.

By an order of the king, the authority of the commander in chief, and, under him, of the brigadiers-general, *in time of peace*, is rendered *supreme* in all the civil governments in America; and thus an uncontrollable military power is vested in officers, not known to the constitution of these colonies.

A large body of troops, and a considerable armament of ships of war, have been sent to assist in taking their money without their consent.

Expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied, and the arts of corruption industriously practised, to divide and destroy.

The judges of the admiralty and vice-admiralty courts, are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects to be condemned by themselves; the commissioners of the customs are empowered to break open, and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on legal information.

Judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependant on the crown, for their commissions and salaries.

A court has been established at Rhode Island, for the purpose of taking colonists to England to be tried.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been frequently treated with contempt; and assemblies have been repeatedly and arbitrarily dissolved.

From some few instances, (it would be unnecessary here to enumerate them) it will sufficiently appear, on what pretensions of justice, those dissolutions have been founded.

These mandates spoke a language, to which the ears of English subjects had, for several generations, been strangers. The nature of assemblies implies a power and right of deliberation; but these commands, proscribing the exercise of judgment, on the propriety of the requisitions made, left to the assemblies only the election between dictated submission, and threatened punishment; a punishment, too, founded on no other act, than such as is deemed innocent, even in slaves,—of agreeing in *petitions* for redress of grievances, that equally affected all.

The hostile and unjustifiable invasion of Boston soon followed these events.

Administration determined to subdue a spirit of freedom, which English ministers should have rejoiced to cherish, entered into a monopolizing combination with the East India Company, to send to this continent, vast quantities of tea, an article on which a duty was laid, by a statute, that, in a particular manner, attacked the liberties of America, and which, therefore, the inhabitants of these colonies had resolved not to import. The cargo sent to South Carolina was stored, and not allowed to be sold. Those sent to Philadelphia and New York, were not permitted to be landed. That sent to Boston was destroyed, because Governor Hutchinson would not suffer it to be returned.

On the intelligence of these transactions arriving in Great Britain, the public-spirited town, last-mentioned, was singled out for destruction; and it was determined, the province it belongs to, should partake of its fate. In the last session, therefore, were passed the acts for shutting up the ports of Boston, indemnifying the murderers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts's bay, and changing their chartered constitution of govern-

ment. To enforce these acts, that province is again invaded by a fleet and army.

To mention these outrageous proceedings, is sufficient to explain them; for, though it is pretended, that the province of Massachusset's-bay has been particularly direspectful to Great Britain, yet, in truth, the behaviour of the people in other colonies, has been in equal *opposition to the power assumed by parliament*. No step, however, has been taken, against any of the rest. This artful conduct conceals several designs. It is expected, that the province of Massachusset's-bay will be irritated into some violent action, that may displease the rest of the continent, or that may induce the people of Great Britain, to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exasperated ministry.

If the unexampled pacific temper of that province shall disappoint this part of the plan, it is, in that case, hoped, that the other colonies will be so far intimidated, as to desert their brethren, suffering in a common cause, and, that thus disunited, all may be subdued.

To promote these designs, another measure has been pursued. In the session of parliament last-mentioned, an act was passed for changing the government of Quebec; by which act, the Roman Catholic religion, instead of being tolerated, as stipulated by the treaty of peace, is established, and the people there, deprived of the right to an assembly, trials by jury, and the English laws, in civil cases, abolished, and, instead thereof, the French laws established, in direct violation of his majesty's promise by his royal proclamation, under the faith of which, many English subjects settled in that province; and, the limits of that province are extended, so as to comprehend those vast regions that lye adjoining to the northernly and westernly boundaries of these colonies.

The authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves, that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such, as differ from them in modes of government and faith.

From a detail of facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed and now is carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of these colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government.

At this unhappy period, we have been authorized to meet, and consult together, for the welfare of our common country. We accepted the important trust with diffidence, but have endeavoured to discharge it with integrity. Though the state of these colonies would certainly justify other measures than we have advised, yet weighty reasons determined us to prefer those which we have adopted. In the first place, it appeared to us, a conduct becoming the character those colonies have ever sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and imminent dangers that surround them, every act of loyalty; and therefore we were induced, to offer once more, to his majesty, the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America. Secondly, Regarding with the tender affection which we knew to be so universal among our countrymen, the people of the kingdom from which we derive our original, we could not forbear to regulate our steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction, that the colonists are equally dear to them. Between these provinces and that body subsists the social band, which we ardently wish may never be dissolved, and which cannot be dissolved, until their minds shall become indisputably hostile, or their inattention shall permit those who are thus hostile, to persist in prosecuting, with the powers of the realm, the destructive measures already operating against the colonists; and, in either case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compelled to renounce every guard, but that of self-preservation. Notwithstanding the vehemence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point. We do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid: We have chosen a method of opposition that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation, with our fellow-citizens on the other side of the Atlantic. We deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses us, to an immediate interruption of commerce, that may prove injurious to them. We trust, they will acquit us of any unkind intentions towards them, by reflecting, that we subject ourselves to similar inconveniences; that we are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulsions, and that we are contending for our freedom, so often contended for by our ancestors.

The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring

their sentiments, concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity, and good sense, we repose high confidence, and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded, that *they*, the defenders of true religion, and the asserters of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate Protestant brethren in the colonies, in favour of our open, and their own secret, enemies, whose intrigues, for several years past, have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

Signed, &c.

APPENDIX, No. 2. (b.)

Declaration of the Representatives of the United Colonies of
North America, met in General Congress at Philadelphia.

IF it was possible for men, who exercise their reason to believe, that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over, others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully irresistible however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them, has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have, at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us, to close with their last appeal, from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek, on these shores, a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their lives, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by increasing labour, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislature, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies, and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union, became, in a short time, so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies.—Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his councils.—From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British Empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emolument of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and, assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such

decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money, without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty, beyond their antient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of our colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature, and solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the "murderers" from trial, and, in effect, from punishment; for erecting, in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists, charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why shall we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute, it is declared, that parliament can "of right, make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but, on the contrary, they are, all of them, exempt from the operation of such laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We, for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament, in the most mild and decent language; but administration sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A congress of delegates from the united

colonies was assembled at Philadelphia on the 5th day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the king, and also addressed our fellow-subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shewn, how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the colonies were inserted in his majesty's speech. Our petition, though we were told, it was a decent one, that his majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his parliament, was huddled into both houses amongst a bundle of American papers, and then neglected. The lords and commons in their address in the month of February, said, "that a rebellion, at that time, actually existed within the province of Massachusset's-bay, and that those concerned in it, had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his majesty's subjects in several of the other colonies; and therefore, they besought his majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures, to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature." Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole colonies, with foreign countries, and with each other, was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their sustenance, and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence, of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate, the heedless fury, with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns, in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manoeuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations where

colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom should redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us, of raising in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors, to conquered enemies? In our circumstances, to accept them, would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who, in the course of the last year, had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April, sent out from that place, a large detachment of his army, which made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence, the troops proceeded, in warlike array, to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killed several, and wounded more, until compelled to retreat by the country-people, suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them, without regard to faith and reputation. The inhabitants of Boston, being confined within that town, by the general, their governor, and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated, that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms; but in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the governor, ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy, wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those, who have been used to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The general, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation, bearing date, the 12th day of June, 1775, after venting the grossest calumnies and falsehoods against the good people of these colonies, proceeded to "declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and, instead thereof, to publish, and order the use of, the law-martial."—His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province, and the Indians, to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed, to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these colonies now feels, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful, as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom, which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness, which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just; our union is perfect: our internal resources are great: and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe

controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved, to die freemen, rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve that union, which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us to that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states: we fight not for glory, or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind, the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion, of offence. They boast of their privileges, and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions, than servitude, or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed, till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves: against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down, when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed, shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his Divine Goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation, on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

Signed, &c.

APPENDIX, No. 3.

Petition and Memorial of the House of Assembly of the Island
of Jamaica,

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT the petitioners conceive it necessary, as humble suitors in behalf of those who labour at present under the heavy weight of his majesty's displeasure, to state, the different claims of Great Britain and her colonies, and to place it in the royal mind, as the first established principle of the constitution, that the people of England have a right to partake, and do partake, of the legislation of their country; and that no laws can affect them but such as receive their assent, given by themselves or their representatives: and it follows, therefore, that no one part of your majesty's English subjects either can, or ever could, legislate for any other part.

That the settlers of the first colonies, but especially those of the elder colonies of North America, as well as the conquerors of this island, were a part of the English people, in every respect equal to them, and possessed of every right and privilege, at the time of their emigration, which the people of England were possessed of, and irrefragably to that great right of consenting to the laws which should bind them in all cases whatsoever, and who, emigrating at first in small numbers, when they might have been oppressed, such rights and privileges were constantly guaranteed by the crown to the emigrants and conquerors, to be held and enjoyed by them in the places to which they emigrated, and were confirmed by many repeated solemn engagements, made public by proclamation, under the

faith of which they did actually emigrate and conquer; and therefore, the people of England had no right, power, or privilege, to give to the emigrants, as these were, at the time of their emigration, possessed of all such rights, equally with themselves.

That the peers of England were possessed of very eminent and distinguished privileges in their own rights, as a branch of legislature; a court of justice in the dernier resort of all appeals from the people, and, in the first instance, for all causes instituted by the representatives of the people; but that it does not appear, that they ever considered themselves as acting in such capacities for the colonies, the peers having never to this day heard or determined the causes of the colonists in appeal, in which it ever was, and is, their duty to serve the subjects within the realm.

That from what has been said, it appears that the emigrants could receive nothing from either the peers or the people, the former being unable to communicate their privileges, and the latter on no more than an equal footing with themselves; but that, with the king, it was far otherwise. The royal prerogative, as now annexed to, and belonging to the crown, being totally independent of the people, who cannot invade, add to, or diminish it, nor restrain nor invalidate those legal grants which the prerogative hath a just right to give, and hath very liberally given, for the encouragement of colonization,—to some colonies it granted almost all the royal powers of government, which they hold and enjoy at this day; but to none of them did it grant less than to the first conquerors of this island, in whose favour it is decreed, by a royal proclamation, that they shall have the same privileges, to all intents and purposes, as the free-born subjects of England.

That to use the name or authority of the people of the parent-state, to take away, or render ineffectual the legal grants of the crown to the colonists, is delusive, and destroys that confidence which the people have ever had, and ought to have, of the most solemn royal grants in their favour, and renders unstable and insecure those very rights and privileges, which prompted their emigration.

That your colonists and your petitioners, having the most implicit confidence in the royal faith, pledged to them in the most solemn manner by your predecessors, rested satisfied with their different portions of the royal

grants, and having been bred from their infancy to venerate the name of *parliament*, a word still dear to the heart of every Briton, and considered as the palladium of liberty, and the great source from whence their own is derived, received the several acts of parliament of England and Great Britain, for the regulation of the trade of the colonies, as the salutary precautions of a prudent father for the prosperity of a wide-extended family; and that, in this light, we received them, without a thought of questioning the right, the whole tenor of our conduct will demonstrate, for above one hundred years. That though we received these regulations of trade from our fellow-subjects of England and Great Britain, so advantageous to us, as colonists, as Englishmen, and Britons, we do not thereby confer on them a power of legislation for us, far less of destroying us and our children, by divesting us of all rights and property.

That with reluctance we have been drawn from the prosecution of our internal affairs, to behold with amazement a plan almost carried into execution, for enslaving the colonies, founded, as we conceive, on a claim of parliament, to bind the colonists in all cases whatsoever.

Your humble petitioners have, for several years, with deep and silent sorrow, lamented this unrestrained exercise of legislative power, still hoping, from the interposition of their sovereign, to avert that last and greatest of calamities, that of being reduced to an abject state of slavery, by having an arbitrary government established in the colonies; for the very attempting of which, a minister of your predecessors was impeached by a House of Commons.

With like sorrow, do we find the Popish religion established by law, which, by treaty, was only to be tolerated.

That the most essential rights of the colonists have been invaded, and their property given and granted to your majesty, by men not entitled to such a power.

That the murder of the colonists hath been encouraged by another act, disallowing and annulling their trials by juries of the vicinage; and, that fleets and armies have been sent to enforce these dreadful laws.

We therefore, in this desperate extremity, most humbly beg leave to approach the throne, to declare to your majesty, that our fellow-subjects

in Great Britain, and consequently their representatives, the House of Commons, have not a right, as we trust we have shewn, to legislate for the colonies; and that your petitioners and the colonists are not, nor ought not to be, bound by any other laws than such as they have themselves assented to, and not disallowed by your majesty.

Your petitioners do, therefore, make this claim and demand from their sovereign, as guarantee of their just rights, on the faith and confidence of which, they have settled, and continue to reside, in these distant parts of the empire, that no law shall be made, and attempted to be forced upon them, injurious to their rights, as colonists, Englishmen, or Britons.

*Advantages of the Establishment of a British Colony on the Continent
of South America.*

[SINCE the preceding pages were written, Buenos Ayres has been taken possession of by the British troops*. As this event will undoubtedly affect the interests of our West India possessions, the writer of these sheets naturally turned his attention to the subject; in consequence of which, he begs leave to offer, with diffidence, the following observations.]

A Successful invasion of South America would, at any period, have been an extraordinary and important event. But in the present state of European politics, it is peculiarly necessary, and will be incalculably advantageous, to the British empire. When a man, possessing more than regal power, and swaying his sceptre over the fairest, and most valuable, as well as the most populous, portions of the European continent, anxiously exerts himself for the destruction of our commerce, it must give every friend to the prosperity of Great Britain, the highest satisfaction, to observe the discovery of a new vent for her manufactures, new channels for her commerce, and

* Although this province has since been retaken by the Spaniards, the following observations have been inserted in this place, as they may perhaps tend to point out the necessity and advantages of a British settlement, on the Spanish continent of South America. And surely no man can doubt, that Great Britain has it in her power to establish such a settlement, either at Buénos Ayres, or any other part of that extensive country, whenever she deems it, in the smallest degree, expedient.

new sources of wealth and power, which cannot fail to advance her prosperity, secure her greatness, and promote the interests and the happiness of all her subjects.

A very slight survey of the present state of British commerce would be sufficient to convince any man, at all accustomed to reflection, of the important consequences of the capture of Buenos Ayres. But when we consider the immense extent of the country now open to our exertions, the number and condition of its inhabitants, the nature of its soil, the salubrity of its climate, the richness of its productions, and its abundance of the scarcer metals, the value of this conquest will not, perhaps, be over-rated, if we assert, that it is the most important and advantageous event that has happened to Britain during the present war, and will, it is to be hoped, in some degree, remunerate her for the expence, which a state of warfare never fails to occasion.

We shall shortly consider the advantages which the possession of this colony enables us to enjoy, the consequences which these benefits will produce, and their probable effects on the condition of commerce, both domestic, colonial, and foreign. We shall also offer a few observations on the policy which ministers ought to pursue, in order that the British power in South America may prove equally advantageous to the inhabitants of the united kingdom, and the colonists and natives of the southern continent of the new world.

That it is the interest of a commercial country to extend and increase every species of her trade, is one of those few plain propositions, which no man can be found absurd enough to deny. In this point of view the possession of Buenos Ayres, will be of the utmost consequence to Great Britain. A concise account of the present state of the continent of South America, and of its trade and productions, will best illustrate the justice of this observation.

The continent of South America, has now, for nearly three hundred years, been almost wholly in the possession of Spain. During that period, she has drawn from this extensive territory, the most important advantages, notwithstanding her adoption of the most absurd, cruel, and unjust policy, that ever disgraced the councils of any nation. She has robbed, murdered, and degraded many millions of the inhabitants, who before her (for them, unfortunate!) arrival, passed their days in a state of happiness, hitherto perhaps, unenjoyed by any people on earth. Their luckless descendants, the present native Indians, she has uniformly treated, as if they were destitute not of reason only, but even of feeling. Not only has she declared them unworthy of the privileges of humanity, but undeserving of that care and kindness, which those who are generous, display towards the lower animals. These poor creatures, nursed in ignorance, reared in ignominy, and doomed to hard labour, have been too much oppressed, either to reflect on the causes of their torment, or the means by which it might be avoided or removed. They are employed in every species of toil, which the wants, or the avarice of their task-masters render necessary. But the most unhealthful of all the occupations in which they are engaged, is that of working in the mines; and as this employment is the most profitable, and the most necessary for the Spaniards, it is not surprising, that, from this species of labour, however unhealthy and destructive, there should be no relief or intermission to the unhappy Indians. "To the labour of these patient drudges," says an intelligent traveller, "we are indebted for all the gold, and silver, brought from every part of Spanish America. No European, nor even the Negroes, are robust enough for one year only, to resist the effects of the climate, and support the fatigues of working in the mines, in the moun-

“ tainous regions. Yet to these good and patient subjects,
 “ their haughty masters leave, as the reward of their toil,
 “ scarcely a sufficient pittance, to enable them to procure a
 “ scanty meal of potatoes and maize, boiled in water.”

Some idea may be formed of the immense advantages enjoyed by Spain from the mineral productions of South America, from a consideration of the number of mines in the vice-royalty of La Plata, or Buenos Ayres alone. Of gold, there are thirty mines; of silver, twenty-seven; of tin, two; and of lead, seven*. It would be difficult to determine, with exactness, the amount of the metals prepared annually on the continent of the new world; but perhaps, M. Helms, who travelled in that country, is not far from the truth, when he estimates them to amount to five millions of sterling money annually.

But gold and silver are not the only valuable productions of this country. So fertile is the soil, and so genial the climate, that with but little labour, a sufficient quantity of corn can be raised, not only to supply the wants of the inhabitants, but for the purposes of trade and exportation. So numerous are the cattle, that the sale of their skins alone furnishes an important article of commerce. Horses running wildly in the woods, are so plenty, and so cheap, as to be considered the property of those, who can pursue and secure them. Cotton is also an important staple of their trade. Besides the Paraguay tea, which is highly relished in various provinces, and is exported in considerable quantities to Chili and Peru, the province of Paraguay, of which Buenos Ayres is the capital, produces excellent sugar, and is capable of rearing much more of this valuable commodity. From hence also are exported, tallow, hides, wool, salted beef, and pork, rhubarb, and cin-

* Helms Travels, page 18.

namon, not inferior, it is said, to that of Ceylon. The export of these commodities, independent of the metals, would be profitable to any country, and cannot fail to be extremely so to Britain, whose merchants, (and we may now add, whose ministers,) are so willing, to secure, and so capable of securing, all those advantages, which an extensive trade never fails to produce.

But when we consider the market, which is now for the first time, *freely* opened for the disposal of British manufactures, we will be still more convinced of the immense and almost incalculable advantages of the possession of Buenos Ayres. Almost every kind of goods manufactured in the united kingdom, will here be speedily and profitably disposed of. Muslins, light cotton stuffs, sadlery, carriages, cabinet-work, glass-ware, toys, trinkets, ribbons, shoes, India silks, linens, lawns, cambrics, besides various other articles of iron and steel manufacture, such as knives, scissars, razors, &c. &c. are here in great demand, and cannot fail to be sold to advantage. In return for these commodities, hides, wool, and indeed all the articles already enumerated as staples of the trade of that country, besides gold and silver, will be readily procured by the English merchant.

It is surely unnecessary to expatiate on the advantages to be derived from such a trade. Suffice it to say, that they are literally incalculable; and we may surely, without presumption, hope, that they will powerfully tend, to elevate the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, to a pitch of prosperity, happiness, and glory, which never nation has yet attained.

But besides commercial advantages, Britain derives, from a settlement on the Spanish main, benefits of a peculiar, and, if possible, of a more important nature. She not only impoverishes an implacable enemy, and humbles an insolent foe,

but lessens the trade and the resources, as well as the naval power of her rivals, especially the Americans, while, at the same time, she advances the industry, and consequently, the prosperity and happiness of her subjects, and increases and consolidates her own naval strength, the only protection of her trade, and source of her power and grandeur. Her shipping and seamen will now be necessarily increased, while the carrying-trade of the neutral maritime states, will be materially, and, for this country, advantageously, reduced. The articles also, so necessary to the comfort, and even to the existence of the English colonists in the various islands of the West Indies, such as, rice, flour, salted meat, &c. can here be procured at a moderate price, and that too, in exchange for British manufactures, and conveyed in British ships, manned by British seamen. The beneficial consequences of such a traffic, even were this the proper place for such a discussion, need not be insisted on: They need only be mentioned, to convince even the most unreflecting.

It will not surely be denied, that the possession of Buenos Ayres by the British troops, and the annexation of this rich province to the territory of Great Britain, will materially provide for the wants of the inhabitants of our West India islands. It is allowed on all hands, as well as asserted by the most intelligent travellers, that the climate and soil of Paraguay are salubrious and rich. The country abounds so much with cattle, that they are generally destroyed, chiefly for their skins; while on the banks of the river of Plate, the lands are, at certain seasons of the year overflowed, and, like the shores of the Nile, enriched by the inundation. And it surely requires no great sagacity to perceive, that by a minute attention to the most proper methods of curing beef and pork, the West Indies can be supplied at a far cheaper rate, from this

continent, than from North America; while, by a careful planting of rice and corn, a sufficient quantity may be easily procured to supply all the wants, not of our own islands only, but of all the other islands of the western archipelago. The advantages of this traffic must be evident to all. The dependance of our colonists on a rival state is lessened, while its naval power is, essentially, weakened; our merchants, and colonists, both at home and in South America, as well as the West Indies, are enriched; and our ships and seamen are increased, our trade and naval power are advanced to an unrivalled height of grandeur, and secured upon a firm and durable foundation.

To treat the Indians now subject to the British government, with lenity, and even with kindness, is equally the duty and policy of our ministers. This too long oppressed and unjustly degraded people will receive with gratitude, that treatment, which *the merciful man shews even to his beast*. Not only will this conduct secure the attachment of the Indians of Paraguay, and consequently consolidate the British power in that extensive and fertile province, but it will render the other natives of this populous continent friendly to British interests, fond of British commerce, and anxious for the possession of British commodities and manufactures. To secure to the native Indians, those advantages, to which every man, in every country, is by nature intitled, it will be necessary, to place the *white* colonists, under the influence of strict laws, and inflexible justice. Let no man, however superior his education, wealth, or acquirements, maltreat with impunity, the persons, or encroach with safety, on the property of that numerous race. Let them be employed in the culture of corn, rice, and other vegetable productions, congenial to the soil and climate, and fitted for the West India market. Teach them the method of

curing the carcasses of those animals, whose skins and tallow have hitherto been solely deemed valuable. And if it be necessary to employ them in the mines, let their labour be moderate, and their treatment gentle*. Suffer them to enjoy all the little comforts which their condition admits of; show them the advantages, and they will soon relish and experience the benefits, of industry; instruct them in the duties, which they owe to themselves, to society, and to their Creator; and, in this manner, British commerce will be extended, British resources and power will be increased, the happiness of all the inhabitants of the empire will be promoted, incalculable blessings will be conferred on millions of our fellow-men, the British sway will be rendered a blessing to the remotest nations, and the British name honourable to the latest posterity.

* Might not the native Indians of the continent of South America be employed as labourers in our West India islands, in place of those Negroes, who have been hitherto imported from Africa?

The Propriety and Utility of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

SINCE the observations contained in the body of this work, on the subject of the African slave-trade, were written, his majesty's present ministers resolved, in July, 1806, and were supported by the almost unanimous voice of the House of Commons, that this traffic should, as speedily as possible, be totally abolished. In pursuance of this resolution, a bill has been brought into the House of Lords (Feb.* 1807), prohibiting, after the expiration of a few months, a further continuance of this ungenerous traffic. For this termination to a trade, which is equally pregnant with moral and political evils, the civilized world is chiefly indebted to the glorious exertions of the late Mr. Fox, and to those of Lord Grenville, and Mr. Wilberforce; men, whose efforts in defence of injured and oppressed humanity, will be remembered with enthusiasm and gratitude, by the most distant posterity.

The total abolition of the slave trade being now, therefore, at hand, it will not be improper to consider, a little more particularly than we have hitherto done, the important consequences which are likely to result from it. But before we do so, we

* It may be proper here to mention, that these observations on the abolition of the slave-trade, were written, and sent to the press, before the debate in the House of Commons, of the 23d February, on the same subject, took place. And this, it is the more necessary to remark, from a coincidence, (not at all surprising,) in some of the arguments employed in this place, and adduced upon that occasion; especially those of the celebrated and eloquent Mr. Roscoe, whose possession of a seat in parliament, is equally an honour to Liverpool, to literature, to the present age, and the present administration.

shall reply to some objections offered by the friends of the slave-trade, against the abolition of it ; objections which are supposed by those who make them, to be extremely formidable, if not altogether unanswerable. We are told by these gentlemen, that an abolition of the African trade in slaves would be unjust, impolitic, and impracticable. We shall separately consider each of these arguments ; and a very little attention to them will be sufficient to convince us that, far from being solid, they have scarcely even the merit of being specious.

1st. *An abolition of the African slave-trade would be unjust.*—Now, is it possible that it can be unjust to put an end to a traffic, which, in itself, according even to the confession of the friends of it, originates in injustice, is carried on with cruelty, and terminates in oppression ? But, say the enemies of an abolition, the slave-trade has been rendered legal by acts of parliament. Here, however, we would remind them, that no act of any government can ever legalize injustice. An unjust law may prevent a man from being punished for doing evil, but can never alter the moral nature of his actions : it can never furnish him with a right, either in the sight of God or man, to commit injustice with impunity. But, further ; there is certainly a difference between a law, which, for prudential motives, permits a traffic, and one, which positively commands, and expressly approves of it. Besides, is it not possible that a law may be bad, and, consequently, require to be rescinded ? Are any legislators endued with infallibility ? Are our laws like those of the Medes and Persians ? And, if an old law be valid, which was only made for the purpose of altering existing circumstances, why should not a new one be possessed of the same power and efficacy ? Again, if an act of the British legislature in the year 1778, permitted the slave-trade, did not an act of the same legislature, in the year 1792, declare, that it ought to be abolished ? And, to prevent

any harshness in the mode of abolition, or pecuniary loss to the slave-merchant or proprietor, was not a solemn warning of several years actually given to them? In what, then, does the injustice of the present abolition of the slave-trade consist? Can it be even reasonably pretended, that it is harsh, sudden, or violent? These reasonings will be sufficient to point out the weakness of this argument, and to prove to the satisfaction of every unbiassed mind, that an abolition of the slave-trade, independent of any consideration of its cruel nature, is really consistent with the strictest justice. But, it is asserted, that,

2dly. *An abolition of the slave-trade is inconsistent with the maxims of sound policy.* In support of this argument, we are told, that, in consequence of an abolition of this trade, the Negroes will imbibe notions of equality, will be instigated to laziness, discontent, and rebellion. This observation is rather a threat than an argument; and, like the generality of threats, will be found to be only noisy, harmless, and impotent. Indeed, there is no instance in the history of nations, of a body of men becoming factious, merely in consequence of mild treatment. Give them power, and continue your oppression, and there is no doubt, but they will make you feel their resentment. But an abolition of the African slave-trade gives no power to the slaves; nay, it rather weakens their political strength, as it cuts off an important, and a constant supply of refractory spirits, ever discontented, and eager for revolt. No change will take place in their condition, in consequence of this event, except that, which will be produced by the lenient hand of time, or the cautious and prudent regulations of the colonial legislatures. Nor is the nature of the Negro so depraved, or debased even by slavery, as that he will be inclined to rebel against his benefactor, and that too solely in consequence of his kindness. Where then, is the probability, that these dreadful consequences of the

abolition of the slave-trade will take place? Why should the Negro, when his condition is essentially meliorated, without his acquirement of new power, be inclined to rebellion and massacre? Why should benevolence and tenderness incline him to revolt, when he remains peaceable under comparative harshness and cruelty? Men, under any government, are always inclined to submission, in proportion as they are happy. Besides, do we not find, that all the rebellions which have ever happened in the West Indies, (that of the Maroons excepted, who are not slaves), have arisen from the discontent of the newly imported Negroes? Have not they been always the most turbulent and dangerous? So far then, will the termination to the importation of slaves be from producing rebellion and bloodshed, that it will essentially tend to the prevention of these disasters in future: But enough surely has been said to evince the fallaciousness of this prophecy of the friends of the African slave-trade.

But, (it is now urged,) an abolition of the slave-trade will put a stop to colonial cultivation, or, at least, will prevent the further clearing of lands. This assertion will be completely disproved by the following considerations. It is a proposition very happily and ably illustrated by an eminent writer on the subject of population, that, in every country, the increase of the inhabitants advances in proportion to the increased means of subsistence. If this be the case in northern countries, how much more would it be so, were there no physical obstacles to its operation in tropical regions? What then is the reason, that the population of the West Indies differs so materially from that of all other countries? Why should the situation of the slaves in our transatlantic colonies, form an exception to the general laws, established by nature and experience? Why should the African labourers in our Western islands be deprived of those

pleasures, and advantages, which arise from the strongest passion, and the most pleasing affections of our nature? Why do not *they*, like the rest of mankind, increase and multiply? From the very cause, which the abolition of the slave-trade will effectually remove, *the cheapness of the Negro*. This, alone, is the reason why the fare of the slave is so unsavoury, his treatment so harsh, his labour so hard, and consequently, his increase, by procreation, so scanty. Often has the writer of these pages been told by the proprietors of estates, that they could purchase Negroes from the slave-ship, far cheaper than they could rear them on their plantations. And such was undoubtedly the fact. A stout slave from the ship costs only sixty pounds (sterling,) while, in one year, the value of his labour often amounts to the same sum. What inducement, then, has an owner of slaves to attend to their comfort, to advance their happiness, to encourage their marriage, or to foster their offspring? None at all:—If we except the feeble impulse of benevolence, which seldom influences even the best of men, when contrary to their pecuniary interest. If, then, from the low price of slaves, the breeding of them in the islands would be an actual loss to the planter, who can be so sanguine, or unreasonable, as to expect, that he would attend to it? Besides, we ought to recollect, that the great majority of slave-proprietors in the West Indies are only colonists, anxious to return speedily, with a due proportion of wealth, to their native land, and, consequently, less attentive to a slow and distant advantage, than to a prompt and immediate profit.

But a prohibition of the further importation of slaves will produce a happy and immediate change. Their price, which formerly amounted to little more than the produce of a year's labour, will now rise to twice, or three times, that sum. The Negro, who before cost only sixty pounds, will now

be worth one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and fifty. The proprietor of an estate, therefore, will not only be driven by necessity, from a want of new supplies, to promote the natural increase of his slaves, but will be led to this measure, by the pleasing prospect of a great and evident increase of his fortune. And this consequence of the abolition will tend more than any other, to meliorate the condition of the Negro. His food will now become more salubrious and plenty, his clothing more healthful and decent, his toil more moderate, his spirits more light, his views more enlarged, his morals more pure, his enjoyments more numerous, and, consequently, his contentment greater, and his happiness more lasting. The evident effect of this glorious improvement in the condition of the slave, will be an immediate, and rapid increase of population. If, therefore, the authors of the objection which we have now been obviating, would attend to these circumstances, they must be convinced, that an abolition of the slave-trade will neither put a stop to colonial cultivation, nor ultimately, prevent the further clearment of lands.—Having thus shown that a termination to the importation of slaves from Africa, will neither incite the Negroes in our colonies to discontent and insurrection, nor prevent the usual production of colonial produce, but that it will, rather prevent the former, and increase the latter, we shall now proceed to consider the last objection, which is,

3dly. *An abolition of the African slave-trade is totally impracticable.* In support of this assertion, we are told, that foreign nations will engage in the trade, and that smuggling will be carried on to a dangerous, and an alarming, extent. But, it may be asked, where is the nation that will venture to carry on this traffic? America prohibits it, Sweden never engaged in it, Russia contemns it, Denmark neglects it, and Portugal

has neither capital, ships, nor enterprise, to embark in it. *But France*, say the advocates of the slave-trade, *will, as soon as peace is concluded, immediately encourage this traffic, and, for this purpose, will not only employ her own commercial resources, but will also call forth those of her allies, or dependants, Spain and Holland.* In answer to this remark, we would observe, that however anxious for the encouragement of commerce, the chief of the French government may be, it is, at least, unlikely, that he would so imprudently risk the small share of popularity, which, among enlightened men, he still possesses: And the more especially, as his conduct would not only excite the execrations of all the civilized world, but also the serious and formidable resentment of Great Britain and America. Besides, would it not evince a glorious superiority, both in power and benevolence, were we to force him to relinquish this traffic? To assert, that his persisting to carry on the slave-trade would be a legitime cause of war, would be perhaps saying too much. But surely, if it can be proved, that his pouring in immense numbers of Africans into St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, and Martinique, would endanger the peace, and the security of our transatlantic colonies, to prevent his doing so, would be equally just and prudent. It is therefore evident, that the French ruler, however much he might be inclined to encourage the trade, would be necessitated to relinquish it; and, even if he ventured, in that contempt for the opinions of mankind, by which he has been already so much distinguished, to encourage and promote it, effectual measures might, and would, be lawfully taken, to prevent, his receiving advantages at the expence of his neighbours, from an odious traffic, which they have unanimously relinquished, and universally execrate. Spain, Holland, the Netherlands, and Italy, must yield to

their fate, and follow his example.—So much for this trade being resorted to by foreign nations.

But it will be impossible to prevent smuggling. There are, it must be confessed, considerable temptations to an illicit traffic. New Negroes will, if they can be procured, be greedily received; the profits on them will be great; the shores of Africa are extensive; the ports of Jamaica are numerous; and the Atlantic ocean is wide. But notwithstanding all these difficulties to prevent smuggling, there is very little probability, indeed, that it will ever be seriously engaged in. Surely no man, possessed of a capital large enough to engage in this trade, will expose his property to capture and condemnation, and his character to infamy and disgrace. The certain risk would far exceed the uncertain profit. But even were any man so foolishly and perversely adventurous, as to engage in this illegal traffic; and were he so fortunate as to escape all detection, both in his clearance from a port of this country, in his residence on the African coast, in his passage across the Atlantic ocean, and his arrival in a West India port, and were he also to find purchasers of his sable cargo, is it at all probable, that any planter could possess new Negroes, without the knowledge of his neighbours? So far from being probable, every man acquainted with the manners and situation of our colonists, must be fully convinced, that it is actually impossible. And though it will no doubt be alledged, that, from a community of interests, our white colonists would connive at, and conceal, the illegal conduct of each other, yet it must be remembered, that that envy which is inherent in human nature, and which it costs wise men so much pains to eradicate from their bosoms, will always operate on the great mass of mankind, and will effectually prevent them from perceiving, with complacency or unconcern, other men in quiet possession

of those advantages, from which they are excluded, but to which they consider themselves equally intitled. And if, to this consideration we add the pecuniary reward which will be received by the informer, there can scarcely remain a doubt, that no planter in the West Indies will be able to introduce new slaves contrary to law, without a certain, and a speedy detection. On these grounds, therefore, we may safely conclude, not only that smuggling could not possibly escape detection, but that it will never be even seriously attempted.

Having thus, in as concise and logical a manner, as we have been able, obviated the most formidable objections against the abolition of the African slave-trade; having shown that this measure is equally, just, safe, practicable, and advantageous, we shall now shortly consider the beneficial consequences, which will undoubtedly result from it.

An obvious and necessary consequence of the abolition of the slave-trade is a rise in the value, and an improvement in the condition, of the Negro. This is certainly the most important, and the most desirable, of all the advantages, which will result from the measure. Indeed, it appears so self-evident, that one can scarcely believe those to be serious, who doubt, or deny it. Independent of all consideration of humanity, do we not observe the proprietor of a horse, which has been bred and trained for the chace, far more attentive to the comfort and health of this animal, than of one employed in the plough, or any other species of labour? Do not men always attend with care to any commodity, in proportion to its value? And will not the slave, whose price will probably be doubled, and whose loss would be irremediable, because it could not be supplied, become far more valuable, in the eyes of his master? Will not the comfort, the health, the contentment, the happiness of the Negro, now become an object of

the most serious importance in the eyes of his proprietor? And will not this desirable effect essentially tend to the increase of population? Is it not a fact too evident for illustration, that men always increase in number, in proportion to their health, happiness, and contentment? And will not the Negro race increase and multiply, in consequence of this beneficial change in their condition? This effect seems so certain, that it would not be surprising, if, in a few years, those who, at present, express a fear of the extinction of African labourers in our western colonies, should alarm us with the prospect of their becoming too formidable, in consequence of an astonishing increase of their number.

The slave-proprietor will also be enriched by the abolition of this trade. This effect seems strangely to have been overlooked by all those who are most interested in the measure. Indeed, it would be difficult to account for it, did we not every day perceive instances of that reluctance, with which men submit to any change which is not voluntary. How often, in this enlightened country, do we see men of education anxiously oppose the cutting of roads and canals through their estates, although no event could be so favourable to their interest? Such is the pride of human nature, that men seldom choose to be either enriched or improved by the real or affected superior wisdom of others. Though this consideration, therefore, forms an excuse for the opposition, which the planters of our colonies have displayed to a measure, which will undoubtedly promote their interest, it, by no means, alters the real circumstances of the case. At the same time, that the slaves become more valuable, they will also become more numerous. In this manner, will the property of their masters be increased rather by a geometrical, than an arithmetical, progression; and it may safely be asserted, that the for-

tunes of all those, who are at present proprietors of slaves will, in a very short time, be doubled, or trebled, and will increase far more rapidly, than they possibly could have done, if the African slave-trade had been allowed to go on. So that, the abolition of the slave-trade, instead of impoverishing, will actually enrich our West India proprietors.

As the Negroes become more valuable, the services of the white settlers will also become more important, and their employments more advantageous. This will, at least, improve the condition of all those European adventurers, who, with a courage that does them honour, leave the scenes of their youth, their friends, and their native land, for the purpose of increasing their fortunes in a distant country, and an unhealthful climate. By this means, not only will moderate fortunes be more easily acquired, but, what is perhaps, a still more important consideration, the number of white inhabitants will be speedily increased. And though, there is no doubt, but, that the abolition of this traffic will lessen the facility with which immense fortunes were rapidly accumulated by rich capitalists and speculators, (an event, perhaps, undeserving of regret,) yet will it neither lessen the riches of the planter, nor the aggregate wealth of the community. Indeed, it will rather increase both, by quickening the industry of the planter, and increasing the numbers and importance of the white settlers.

This improvement in the condition of the Negro, and advancement of the wealth and numbers of the white settlers, will increase the stability and strength of the colonial governments. No man, acquainted with human nature, and the condition of our colonies, can doubt this fact. As we have already mentioned, in another part of this volume, the circumstances, which render the possession of our colonies exceedingly precarious, it will not now be necessary to enter into

this part of the subject. Only, it may be remarked, that a government always becomes more stable, in proportion, as it advances the happiness of the people. If then, as we have demonstrated, this change improves the condition of the inhabitants of our West India islands, it is a fair inference, that the colonial governments will become more firm and secure; and if this happy effect be produced, it requires no great sagacity to perceive, that the political strength of the mother country will be greatly increased.

Ought we not also to enumerate among the favourable consequences of this abolition of the slave-trade, that it prohibits and prevents a great and positive evil? Is it not of importance to the interests of mankind, that a termination should be put to a traffic, which excites and keeps alive all the odious passions of human nature? Will not the African now be incited rather to a cultivation of his lands, than to a trade of rapine, bloodshed and oppression? Will not the arts of peace necessarily succeed to the occupations of warfare? And will not his temper, by this means, be softened, his mind humanized, his capacity enlarged, and his felicity increased? Will not, at the same time, a stain on our national character be removed, our progress in civilization be advanced, and the interests of justice and humanity be promoted? And, though, in all probability, it be a vain expectation, to hope, that without the intervention of a miracle, the principles of justice will ever regulate the conduct of all men, yet, will an approach to this desirable state, always be hailed with gladness by every benevolent mind.

But the solidity of these views will now, in a very short time, be brought to the unerring test of experience; and the author of them, after the most mature and impartial consideration of the subject, of which he is capable, seriously and con-

fidently believes, that their truth will soon be generally admitted, and that even the friends of the slave-trade will be ultimately, though perhaps reluctantly, compelled to assent to them. And if his reasonings be really correct, the abolition of the African slave-trade must undoubtedly be productive of the happiest effects.

An unjust traffic will be terminated; the Negroes happiness will be increased; the planter's wealth will be advanced; the colonial governments will be strengthened; the honour, security and power of the British empire will be extended; the sum of human misery will be diminished; the eternal principles of justice will be respected; the progress of the human race in civilization and happiness will be essentially promoted; and, the best interests of society will be secured upon a glorious and permanent foundation.

LETTER.

[THE following letter was addressed several years ago, to a near relative, and dear friend of the author of this volume. Though it was never intended for publication, yet as it is so intimately connected with the subject of which he has, in the latter part of the work, been treating, it is hoped, that no apology will be necessary, for its insertion in this place. And though some of the opinions contained in it, are different from those which his maturer judgment now entertains, yet as he delivered them *bona fide*, and from recent, and, consequently, strong impressions, he leaves them entirely to the unbiassed opinion of the reflecting reader. Being copied from a rough sketch, there are probably a few alterations from the original epistle; but the language and sentiments (for the sake of precision) have been, even in instances where they could have been much improved, as much as possible, retained. And, indeed, the alterations, if there are any, in no instance, affect the information communicated.]

Kingston, Jamaica, 18—.

MY DEAR ———,

IN my last, I gave you a very imperfect account of the manners of the Jamaicans: I shall now attempt a short sketch of their mode of living, their attention to religion, their notions of morality, and their form of government.

T t

To begin, then, with the latter, since the system of legislation has in every country, a powerful, though often an imperceptible, influence, on the customs, modes of thinking, and manners of the inhabitants. The government of Jamaica consists of an executive and a legislative power; the former appointed by the crown of England, and the latter by the white freeholders of the different parishes. The executive is almost an exact copy of that of Ireland, consisting of a governor, and a council composed of the most respectable inhabitants; while the legislative body, called the House of Assembly, is nearly an imitation of the British House of Commons: while their laws, except those regarding slaves and Mulattoes, are nearly a transcript of the English.

Formerly, a proprietor was allowed to use his slaves as he thought proper. But since the slave-trade has become so universally detested in Europe, a law has been passed, by which an owner is prohibited from giving a Negro above forty-nine lashes at the same time in the same place; and if any person kill a Negro, he is *now** tried for murder, and executed, when found guilty. These laws, though tending, in some degree, to meliorate the condition of the slaves, are almost always evaded, as no slave is allowed to give evidence in a court of justice, and as the punishment is generally inflicted by one of themselves appointed for the purpose, and called, the *Driver*; besides that, if any slave were to go to a magistrate, unless the case was of a very flagitious nature, and complain of his master's cruelty, instead of getting redress, he would, in all probability, be sent to the work-house, where he would be whipped more cruelly than

* It ought to be mentioned in this place, to the honour of the inhabitants of Jamaica, that long before any idea, in Britain, was generally entertained of the injustice of slavery, or the abolition of the slave-trade, several individuals were tried and executed, for cruelties and murders committed on their own slaves.

ever. That the blacks are our fellow-creatures, is an assertion which is often denied by, and is uniformly disagreeable to the proprietors.

The descendants from blacks, either male or female, who have also had a white father or mother, are called Mulattoes, and are, on the principle of slavery, kept at a great distance. Many of them are men of fortune; and should any misunderstanding take place, as sometimes happens, between a brown gentleman and a white carpenter, or mason, and were the former, in consequence of the dispute, to strike the latter, though in self-defence, he would be fined, and imprisoned, if not whipped in the most public place:—a slave found guilty of striking a white man, would be executed. The arrogance displayed, and cruelties perpetrated, in consequence of such laws, would be painful to relate and disagreeable to read, and do not at all tend to make a person of humanity and feeling, approve of, or defend, such a disgraceful traffic, as the slave-trade.

The mode of living of the inhabitants of the island need scarcely be particularly mentioned, as it is so nearly the same with our own; and, as any difference that exists, is almost entirely owing to the prevalence of slavery, and the heat of the climate. In general, however, they are *bons vivants*, even the lowest tradesmen drinking wine after dinner, besides rum, or brandy and water, in the forenoon. In Kingston, the stores, or shops, are opened at eight o'clock in the forenoon, and are shut at about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the merchants and their clerks take dinner, and spend the evening in various amusements. There being a long interval betwixt breakfast and dinner, they generally take a refreshment at noon, which is called *second breakfast*. Business, though transacted by the merchants to an immense amount, is finished in a very summary manner.

The streets are almost constantly crowded with Negroes driving cars, bearing messages, carrying goods, selling live-stock, vegetables, and various kinds of fruit, and performing all the servile offices of civilized life. White people seldom walk in the streets, as almost every householder has his chaise, which is drawn by one horse, and has a seat behind, on which a Negro-boy sits, and from which as soon as the chaise stops, he instantly leaps, and takes hold of the reins. In the country, especially the mountainous districts, where the roads are steep, rough, and narrow, the planters, generally travel on horseback; and there too, the clerks, or book-keepers, are more exposed to the sun, toil harder, have smaller salaries, and live more frugally, than in towns.

A head Negro, called *the driver*, blows a large shell at day-break, when all the field Negroes are obliged immediately to repair to their work, attended by the subordinate white overseers, denominated *book-keepers*. They work till sun-set, ~~without having an interval for rest,~~ (except half an hour to take breakfast, and an hour and an half, or two hours for dinner.) Their breakfast generally consists of boiled rice, yams, plantains, and some other vegetables; and at dinner-time, they frequently receive an addition of salted meat, or fish. After their meals, they get a drink of water, and begin their work again. They are very lazy, which need not be wondered at, as they have no stimulus to exertion but fear: One labourer in Britain will perform as much labour in one day, as four Negroes in the same time.

The character of the inhabitants of Jamaica for hospitality, is well known, and justly merited. A traveller, on unfrequented roads, has nothing to do, but dismount, and give his horse to his servant, who leads it to the stable. He is then welcomed at the door of the house by the proprietor, or over-

seer of the estate, is set down to the best meat and drink, which the house can afford, and is welcome to stay as long as he finds it convenient. This hospitality is chiefly owing to the small number of travellers, and the consequent scarcity of taverns, which are almost never to be found on roads so little frequented.

There are but few white ladies in the island, which is a great misfortune, as the women of colour have not the smallest pretension to virtue, and as the greatest and most refined pleasures of civilized society, for the enjoyment of which, the inhabitants have sufficient leisure, arise from associating with virtuous and intelligent females. The white ladies, though few in number, have an uncommon share of attention paid to them, when they appear in promiscuous company; however, they are seldom seen gadding abroad. They seem wisely to prefer domestic happiness, which they are equally capable of conferring, and enjoying. They are generally pale to such a degree, as to have the appearance of sickness. A rosy cheek is a beauty, to which the native of Jamaica is as great a stranger, as the Hottentot, who has never beheld a human being, save those of his own tribe.

There is no such thing as a good, respectable seminary of learning in this island, which is owing, partly to the inhabitants considering themselves as not at home, but colonists, and partly, to the conduct of all parents who can afford the expence of sending their children home to England or Scotland, to receive their education.

The whites, in consequence of the indulgence shewn them by the laws are high-spirited, if not arrogant, and, in whatever station, except private soldiers or seamen, they consider themselves to be, and are always treated as, gentlemen. The blacks, both slaves and free, and the Mulattoes and Jews, are very much and very generally discontented with the present

system of jurisprudence, as the whites and Christians engross all places of trust and honour to themselves. The general discontent of the slaves, their great superiority in point of numbers, (being as 10 to 1) their vicinity to St. Domingo, from whence they look for succour, where slavery is abolished, and where it is well known, the inhabitants want nothing but the opportunity to assist them;—these considerations render it probable, that, unless some change in the present system take place, a great political convulsion will one day be produced, perhaps no less than the expulsion of the whites from the island.

Surely there never was greater inconsistency, than a profession of religion here. In some parishes, which are larger than our shires, there is no church: in others, there is no priest, and in most of them, there is not ^{one} sermon above once in a quarter of a year; and even then, the white inhabitants never think of attendance. I have been credibly informed, that in the town of Port Royal, which, though only *the ghost of what it was*, is still a place of considerable trade and wealth, and where the church, from age and neglect, had gradually decayed, a subscription was opened for the purpose of building a new one, when, strange to tell! there was not one righteous person found in the whole town, (at least, if we may judge from this part of their conduct,) since, not one would subscribe a single *bit** for this pious purpose.

In the town of Kingston, which contains between twenty and thirty thousand inhabitants, there is but one church, while the attendance of the people is really, at first sight, somewhat surprising. When you enter the church on Sunday, you see the curate, the clerk, the sexton, one or two magistrates, and

* A Spanish coin, value 7½d. currency.

about a dozen of gentlemen, with nearly double that number of ladies. The Mulattoes, who are more ignorant, more unhappy, and consequently, perhaps, more devout, attend to the number of about one hundred, or one hundred and fifty, and this composes the congregation of the faithful in Kingston!!! There is also a Methodist meeting here, at which only two or three white families attend, and a few blacks and Mulattoes, mostly from the country. The Jews are rich and intelligent, and have two or three synagogues, which are well attended. But if I may judge of their religious sentiments from my own conversation with many of them, as well as from the observation of others, whose accuracy I have no reason to doubt, they believe as little in the divine mission of Moses, as Infidels in that of Jesus Christ, or Christians in that of Mahomet.

Nothing troubles the inhabitants of this island less than the concerns of religion; and, like the philosophers of old, they are neither elated or comforted with its hopes, nor depressed or tormented with its fears. When a people disregard religion, not from a serious belief of its being an imposition, but either from a carelessness of its truth, or the example of others, in a country too, where the laws do not require, or do not exact, any credit to its doctrines, attention to its precepts, or attendance on its ceremonies, and where they have not only the necessities, but the luxuries of life in abundance, while a great majority of them are kept in the most abject slavery, there, laziness, pride, cruelty, and the most irregular desires will naturally prevail in the conduct of the inhabitants. These general observations will, I am afraid, be but too applicable, not only to the Jamaicans, but to the inhabitants of all the West India islands. Christianity is so contrary in its spirit, in its doctrines, and its injunctions, to their conduct, their prejudices, and their interests, that it is not at all surprising, that

even the mutilated kind of it, which you and I, as good Presbyterians, are bound to believe, the English church presents to them, should be very obnoxious; and though not much spoken against, yet secretly despised, and openly neglected*.

As their attention to religion is so opposite to ours, it is natural to suppose, that their notions of morality are also very different: And so is the case. In the towns, many of the stores are open on Sunday, and business is transacted in them as usual, with this difference, that the clerks and Negroes generally have that day to themselves, which the former spend in amusements, and the latter in idleness and debauchery. In the country, there is, generally speaking, no business transacted on that day, as the gentlemen on different estates meet together, dine alternately with each other, and spend the evening in conversation, smoking, drinking, playing cards, or dancing; and sometimes, as not unfrequently happens, in all these employments.

Almost every householder, for few of them are married, keeps his *miss*, without being at all thought guilty of any breach of morality or decorum. The parents of brown ladies never think of seeing them married, but are nevertheless very careful of what they call their *vartue*, (they all speak bad English) till some respectable or decent persons take them for house-

* These observations will probably appear to many, what they really are, harsh, if not unjust. But the writer of them has already stated, that they are not now related as his present sentiments: And he begs leave here to add, as an apology for any prejudice, which, on the subject of religion, he may, at that time, have entertained, that he was then almost a boy, and that he had but recently left a country, where the utmost rigidity of morals, and gravity of behaviour are prevalent, and where he was, in common with the great majority of his countrymen, educated in a belief of that strictest of all systems of religion, *Calvinistic Presbyterianism*. But this apology is only offered for the colouring of the facts, the deductions from them, and the application of the inferences. The facts themselves are undeniable and notorious.

keepers, when they generally make a small settlement for them, to prevent them, in case of a separation, from being destitute, or becoming a burden upon their parents. These females, though not the most industrious in the world, generally behave well, and are very affectionate, as well as remarkably obedient to their *pro tempore* husbands. Perhaps the uncertainty of their situation renders them, if not more virtuous, at least more attentive to appearances, than the married females of some countries; but however this may be, they, almost without an exception, become obedient, useful, and faithful companions. Indeed, they perform all the duties of a wife, except that of presiding at table, when there are strangers present, before whom they are never allowed to appear: And when strangers visit the master of the house, they dine in an adjoining apartment, after the gentlemen have been served.

The profits on merchandize are so great, that clerks get no less than two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, and some in the richest mercantile houses, no less than seven hundred pounds current money of the island, *per annum*; but as they must find themselves in every necessary, and as living is enormously high, they save less than one would expect. In the country, they have only from seventy to one hundred pounds *per annum*, and have every thing, except clothing, furnished to them by their employers. These young men are generally kept at a great distance by the proprietor, or the chief overseer of the estate, and their situation is certainly neither pleasant nor enviable. They never make any thing but by a tedious and unremitted perseverance; and many of them never make any thing at all. But what chiefly brings young men so rapidly forward in the country, is the great mortality of Europeans. The knowledge of this lamentable fact has prevented many young men from leaving their

native land; and a scarcity of new settlers being a necessary consequence, young men are now better treated than formerly, come more rapidly forward, and amass fortunes with greater ease.

To give you an adequate idea of the picturesque scenery of this country, is a task to which I am altogether unequal. To do the subject justice, one must possess the pencil of a Titian, or a Guido Reni, the imagination of a Milton, the enthusiasm of a Thomson, or the fancy of a Radcliffe. When one first approaches the island, the prospect is inexpressibly delightful. The lofty blue mountains heaped upon each other by frequent earthquakes, with their tops intercepted from the view by vapoury clouds, and covered with large, inaccessible forests, contrasted with the smiling hills, and rich, extensive, fertile vallies at their base, waving with sugar-canes, or covered with innumerable species of trees, bearing the most beautiful and delicious fruits, and here and there interspersed an elegant chateau, a stately windmill, and a few lowly Negro-huts;—these objects present a landscape which, for variety, beauty, grandeur, and sublimity, is seldom to be equalled, and can scarcely be surpassed.

The coffee-settlements are generally on hills of less size and easier access, than those mountains, whose appearance strikes one with so much awe; and sugar plantations are mostly on the level-grounds at the bottom of the mountains. Uncleared land can be bought for very little: All the expence of forming a new settlement, therefore, arises, from the building of houses, the purchase of cattle and Negroes, of their food and clothing, making of roads, &c. A coffee mountain, if properly managed, brings returns in three years, and clears every expence in seven: And the proprietors of sugar-estates generally have their sugars clear profit, the sale of the rum and melasses being supposed

to pay every expence. But this, though a general rule, has no doubt many exceptions.

Few cattle are bred here, the oxen and mules being imported from the Spanish main, and the horses from England and America. The latter are generally excellent, and sell at from one hundred, to one hundred and forty pounds, or even one hundred and eighty pounds currency. The soil is amazingly fertile, producing spontaneously many kinds of fruit, which are much relished by the inhabitants; but none of them, if we except the orange and pine-apple, are so delicious in my opinion, as our humble gooseberry. The day is nearly of an equal length throughout the year; and in the low country, especially in Kingston, the heat of the sun is almost intolerable, and would be literally so, were it not for the sea-breezes, which generally commence a little before noon, and continue till near sun-set. In the mountains, the air is also excessively hot for an hour or two at noon; but, in the morning and evening, it becomes delightfully cool and agreeable. During the rainy months, it lightens dreadfully, and the thunder is loud and awful, beyond description.

Several hurricanes and earthquakes have done dreadful mischief; and though there have been very few of late years, yet the being exposed to these scourges of nature, together with the diseases to which Europeans are liable, and the mortality to which they are subject, seem to overbalance the advantages which the inhabitants enjoy, from a warm climate, and a fertile soil.

It is natural for me to contrast this country, and the wealth, condition, and manners of its inhabitants, with those of my native land; and I confess to you, that, after having often, and, as I think impartially, made the comparison, I have uniformly come to the same conclusion, with a Caledonian poet:—

U u 2

With gold and gems, if Chilian mountains glow,
 If bleak and barren, Scotia's hills arise,
There, plague and poison, lust and rapine grow ;
Here, peaceful are the vales, and clear the skies,
 And freedom fires the soul, and sparkles in the eyes*.

BEATTIE.

But I must now stop, as I have already so far exceeded the ordinary bounds of a letter. Indeed, I should not have ventured to say so much, did I not know, that I was writing to a friend, who would look upon even my faults with a partial eye. I shall probably soon resume, and perhaps finish, what I have to say on this subject. Adieu.

I am,

What, I trust, I shall ever be,

Your &c. &c.

* See next page.

* *NOTE.* [May the Author be allowed to insert in this place, the following comparison of his own, which forms part of a Poem, that may, very possibly, never be finished?—
Where is the young Writer, that never made verses?]

Hail, SCOTIA! lovely land! my parent-soil!
Dearest, though bleakest, half of this bless'd isle!
More dear to me, thy heath on moss-grown hills,
Than all the golden ore of Indian rills;
Thy thatch-clad cots, and homely, healthful fare,
Than Indian palaces, and all the luxuries there;
The fragrant breath of thy bean-blossom'd field,
Than all the odours, spicy groves can yield:
There, murd'rous vapours taint the constant gale,
Here, grateful breezes play o'er ev'ry vale;
There, pale, diseas'd, men sicken as they grow,
Here, health and courage sparkle on the brow;
There, rage wild, brutal lust, and fierce desire,
Here, Love ennobles with his hallow'd fire;
There, man, a slave, oft trembles at the rod,
Here, men are free, and know, they're sons of God!

FINIS.

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ERRATA.

Page 69, line 24, Instead of "thirst," read "disease."

*Page 99, line 14, Instead of "with a scene," read "with *such* a scene,"*

1951



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